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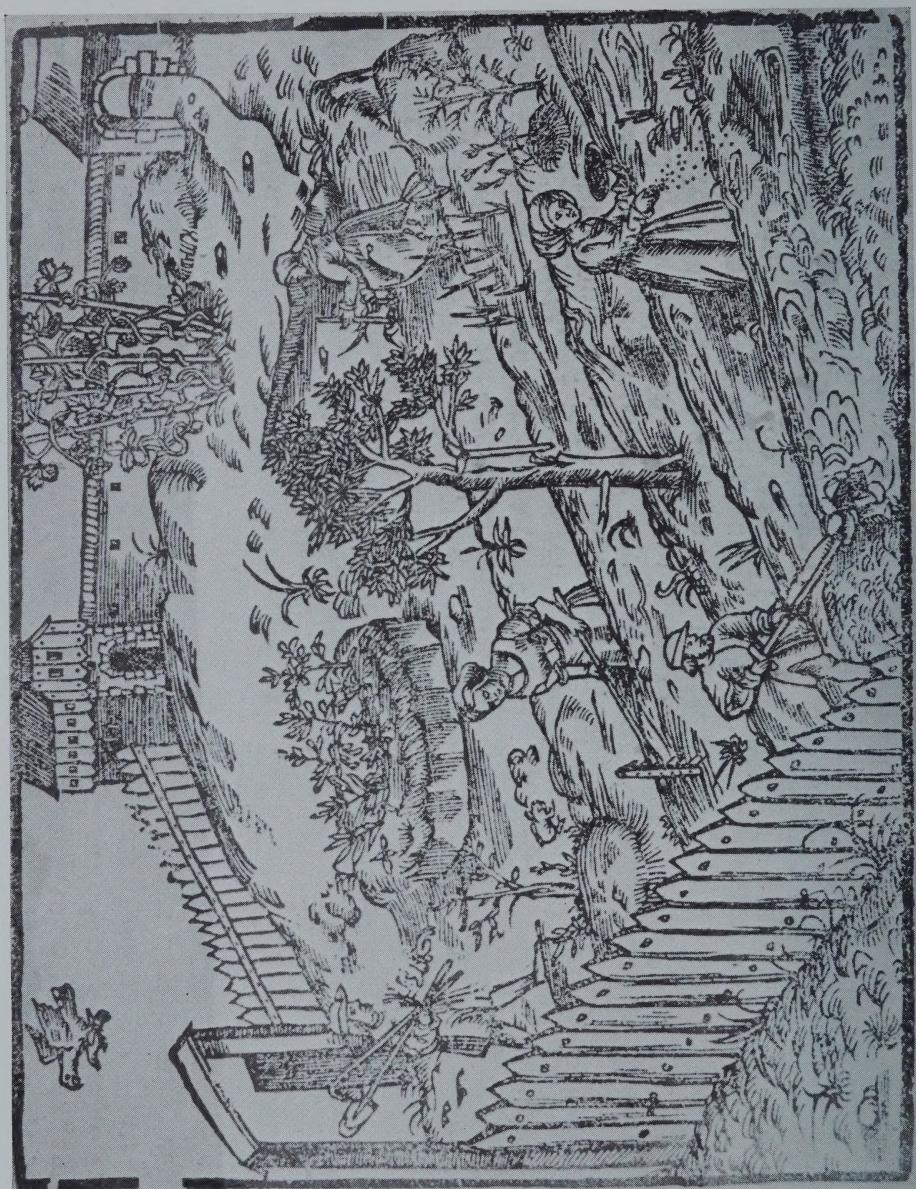
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Gardening scene from Crescenzi, Krakow, 1571

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The JOURNAL

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Volume VI

JUNE 1943

Number 2

SOME NOTES ON THE SCRIPTORES REI RUSTICAE

By CLAYTON M. HALL

For a number of years before his death Dr. J. G. Lipman, Dean of the College of Agriculture, made a hobby of buying books on farming and gardening for the Library. We are indebted to him for several of the early editions of the classical and medieval writers which are described in the following account. Dr. Hall, the author of the article, has been a member of the Rutgers Faculty since 1925 and for some years head of the Department of Classics. He is the editor of Nicolaus of Damascus' Life of Augustus and co-editor of Two Bookes of Constancie by Justus Lipsius.

THE term Scriptores Rei Rusticae signifies usually a grouping of Cato, Varro, and Columella in their works on agriculture; and to these should be added, for this article, the thirteenth-century author Pietro de' Crescenzi. The Library of Rutgers University is fortunate in possessing some early editions of these writers, several of them excellent examples of German, Italian, and Polish book illustrators' art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The word "agriculture" connotes something more extensive than a solitary man with a hoe, although such a one is none the less an agriculturist, and his calling is dignified by Horace in his first Ode, where are listed the various typical professions of his day. We should, however, bear in mind that agriculture on an extended scale was carried on in the Graeco-Roman world at the earliest period of which we have record: consider, for example, the "Harvesters Vase" from Hagia Triada in Crete, whose date may conservatively be set at 1600 B.C., and in the *Iliad* such descriptions as the field of tall

grain before a strong wind, in the second book, and multiple simultaneous plowing in the eighteenth book. For many years before our records begin, there had accordingly been a background of development to take this pursuit of agriculture past the casual stage and to establish it as a major, orderly occupation.

The first technical writer on agriculture in Latin literature was Marcus Cato, 234-149 B.C., a versatile man who had had much experience in practical farming before he wrote his work *De Agricultura* when about eighty years of age. Unfortunately, his style has no literary merit, but he knows exactly what he is talking about and his statements are pleasantly definite. At the outset, the author warns us that we shall not get rich at this pursuit; nevertheless, it is highly to be recommended. Note that the same sentiment is given us in more attractive, if less forthright, guise by such familiars as Lucretius, Vergil, and Horace. Cato pays most attention to the crop from which the greatest cash return can be realized: vintage grapes. The prime rule of management is: be a seller and not a buyer—not exactly “export or die” but “import and you will be bankrupt.”

One gathers that he was a hard driver of manpower. When the days are short some operations are to be carried on under artificial light. As much work as possible must also be done on holidays. In later days, Vergil felt it necessary to list those occupations which a farmer might profitably perform on holidays without sacrilege or transgression of the law: *Georgics*, I, 268-272. In point of fact, the Roman calendar was surcharged with holidays, and they were a serious nuisance in several professions, both city and country. Students of the economic history of Rome derive much material on the maintenance charges of slave labor from Cato. A single garment every other year, a raincoat every other year, and a pair of shoes every two years is at once the minimum and maximum of equipment; food, however, was entirely adequate for the labor performed. In his list of equipment for personnel, four beds are allowed for a staff of sixteen, but since one of these was a married overseer, we must remain puzzled as to how they were apportioned.

The olive and its oil constitute the second important product in Cato's farming economy, and one may well wonder at the detail with which the necessary machinery is described. Obviously, the fruit must be pressed on the farm rather than at a central factory, for because of the slow rate of transport, it would not keep at its critical stage of

ripeness. On the other hand, the extracted oil can be held for a rising market and the best price. A press could easily be built from Cato's exact directions. The cost was about \$700, not including much material and unskilled labor supplied by the farmer himself. The specialist who shaped the working parts of the iron axle and ran in the lead caulking for the wheel of the pulping mill received \$8 for his skill. An innovation just introduced from Greece at this time was the multiple sheaved block and tackle, decreasing effort at the expense of speed.

Cato's contribution to knowledge is for us on the side of economics and sociology rather than toward present farming practice. One should note in passing that wheat thus early, 200 B.C., is not the main crop in Italy, but must have been largely imported from Africa as was the case in the Augustan Age. This lack has been a recurrent problem to the economy and government of Rome. For the English-speaking reader who may be interested in a complete view of this material, an excellent translation is that of Ernest Brehaut (Columbia University Press, 1933); while those desiring to compare editions will find in the Rutgers Library an example published by Hector of Bononia, 1504. This volume contains also Varro and Columella.

A little more than one hundred years after Cato we find another work, *De Re Rustica*, by that extraordinary man, Marcus Terentius Varro, 116-28 B.C. He had been a naval officer of high rank and later, during the Civil War, had been one of Pompey's military commanders. Those of us who deem scholarship to be a prerogative of our own time and place must be given pause when we note that in his bibliography he mentions more than fifty titles of writings on agriculture extant in his day, many of them in Greek. But he was also a practical farmer and not a compiler. He had read these books because he was interested in the subject rather than in making a primer out of them. In style, too, this work is rather disappointing. It is hard to write anything in prose near Cicero's time which will not suffer in comparison with that master. But the arrangement of the book is orderly, and the various divisions—crop farming, stock farming, large and small animals, poultry and game, fish, bees, &c.—obviously give the pattern followed by Vergil in his *Georgics*.

It is assumed that the book may be used by a man just starting in with a new site. If it is not fairly sure that he will make a profit and that he and his personnel will not be exposed to malaria, and yet

he insists upon going ahead, it is recommended that such a man be committed to legal guardians as insane. Varro does not insist that the farm be self-sufficient; the economic picture has changed since Cato's day, so that it is often profitable to purchase goods or services from without. For example, a resident doctor is considered to be an unsound financial risk; in remote sites or on enormous estates only is it necessary to have a house physician. Another noteworthy contrast appears in the change in the social outlook of the period. Here we do not sense the hard driving of Cato; the staff is not to be controlled by corporal punishment but by words of correction or encouragement; perquisites are allowed such as free grazing and fodder for a slave's own animal.

In the section on stock-breeding two items are noteworthy: one, the very considerable price commanded by blooded stock, in one case upwards of \$2,000 per animal; the other, the importance attached to the form of sale transaction: when the title was transferred, in addition to a warranty, provision was made that the new owner was not to assume liability for unsettled claims for damage caused by the cattle while they were still in the hands of their former owner. As in Vergil's *Georgics*, here also the work of the horse is limited to hunting, racing, and military and road work; he is excluded from farm labor, which is the province of the ox.

Some differentiation is already being made in the breed of dogs, as between hunting, working, and house types, for we are warned not to attempt to use hunting dogs or one from that breed, whose ancestors were used to hunting, as a shepherd's assistant. He will be attracted by the various interesting scents he will come across and follow them to the neglect of his duties. It is furthermore dangerous to allow a working dog to eat dead sheep for fear lest his self-control break down and he convert some live sheep to his own use.

A fair proportion of the latter part of the book is given over to the production of poultry and small edible birds for profit. This department, says Varro, can be developed by a skillful manager to such an extent that in a small space of ground surrounding the villa a greater income can be realized than from all the acres of the farm; in one attested case it amounted to \$2,400 annually. Of course, to realize this, a market is necessary, and this in turn depends upon luxurious living in a city somewhere near at hand. Though thrushes constitute hardly a mouthful apiece, they fetched about the price of

squabs with us, and were in far greater numerical demand than squabs because of their small size. Many readers will recall the part played by thrushes in the dinner party of the parvenu Trimalchio in Petronius' novel of the time of Nero, the *Satyricon*. It is interesting to see



CREScenzi, SPEIER, 1490

1. *Transferring wine from
cask to cask*

that production of this luxurious and expensive article of diet was already well established in Cicero's day, and it sounds rather a far cry from Cato and his rigidly puritanical economy.

When we come to Columella, who flourished in the first century of our era, we find a much more facile style than either of the earlier men gives us. He is from Spain, whence several of the outstanding literary men of the empire came; as time passed, such figures were

found progressively farther away from Rome. There is more material in Columella than in either of the others. Some scholars therefore look askance at it, believing that it is the result of compilation only and not of experience, but there is in fact sufficient internal evidence to show his practical authority.

Near the beginning he makes two cogent observations about the tentative site and design for the villa. First, you ought to be near a road, and a good one at that. With the added refinements of the em-



CRESCENZI, VENICE, 1511

2. *Threshing*

pire, it seems that people were becoming more road-conscious. Again, in the planning of the house, care must be taken that it be pleasing to your wife; otherwise she won't want to live in the country at all, and it is desirable that she should. The practice of tenant-farming is here well established, where the tenant actually makes a cash payment for the use of the land. The owner is advised not to press too keenly for the fee on the very day appointed. These tenants are entirely distinct from the farm hands working for the owner, and in this latter class we are to note that some of them still work in chains.

There is a good chapter on dogs as an economic necessity about the farm, expressly excluding hunting dogs. The house or watch dog should not be parti-colored, but preferably all black, for then he can sneak up more safely on the thief who comes by night than the thief

can sneak up on him; and in the daytime a snarling black beast is a much more fearsome sight than one of another color. The shepherd's dog, on the other hand, should be all white, for if wolves come about dawn or dusk, and the shepherd tries to help his dog by smashing at the wolves with his club, he may well club his dog by mistake unless the dog's livery is distinct from that of his enemies.

In the engrossing chapter on poultry, our author has but a low opinion of Rhode Island stock, a name which startles one at first



CRESCENZI, VENICE, 1511

3. *Cooper's Shop*

glance, separated as it is from our own Rhode Island by a hemisphere. He is at some pains to point out that an income from eggs is in the long run a surer thing than bets on cock fights; in the latter case, a man is sure to appear one day with better birds than your own, when you will lose not only your recent gains but all your patrimony as well. We find attempts, even at this period of the world, to hold such perishable goods as eggs for the market. Salt is the preservative recommended, but the sad conclusion is reached that the integrity of the eggs suffers so much in the process that the buyer is deterred altogether. The price of thrushes for eating is now a guaranteed thing at nearly a dollar each, so that we need not wait for the great state dinners of the past in order to make a sale, for the daily market will take care of it.

It would be well to keep in mind the part played by honey in the Graeco-Roman dietary economy as the sole form of sweetening, and hence the amount of space given the subject of bee-keeping by both Vergil and Columella. Our author admires Vergil's treatment of it in his fourth *Georgic*, and quotes it freely. As one might naturally expect, to Columella the queen bee is a king bee. This misconception is



CRESCENZI, KRAKOW, 1571

4. *Plowing*

almost universal in the literatures of the past with one notable exception: Xenophon's *Economics*, chapter 7, mentions the queen bee twice very definitely and in an unmistakable connection, but no one seems to have followed him for a long time. Columella knew this book, too, and refers to it both in the original and in Cicero's Latin translation, the latter now lost to us.

The farm, continues Columella, should be run with a precision equal to that of an industrial concern; for example, inventory of equipment should be made fortnightly, and inspection of slaves, particularly chained ones, daily. The manager must not frequent taverns or fairs save for the purpose of selling produce.

In resolving one's impressions received from these three works, it appears that there is an economic background which undergoes a change with the passage of years, whereas both the impelling force and the general operating laws are the same throughout. We would certainly avoid taking one of these works as a handbook and setting about carrying out its instructions, even if climate and labor conditions



CRESCENZI, KRAKOW, 1571
5. *Haying*

could be approximated. When the procedure corresponds to what we know is sound, we approve; if it does not, we are amused; but all told the former instances far outnumber the latter.

For examples of the book illustrators' art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we shall turn to the work of de' Crescenzi. He was born in Bologna in 1230, and the first edition of his *Liber Ruralium Commodorum* was published in 1471 at Aosta. The earliest edition in the Rutgers Library is that of Peter Drach, Speier, 1490. The illustrations throughout this folio are about three by four inches

each, set in the columns of text. The illustration taken from fol. 45, which also recurs elsewhere in the book, shows a man transferring wine from one cask to another by means of compressed air (*see fig. 1*). Two casks are connected by a hose to their head bungs; there is a tray to catch leakage; then the operator supplies air pressure by means of a bellows to the side bung of the cask to be emptied, while the other



CREScenzi, KRAKOW, 1571
6. *Grafting*

cask has its side bung open as a vent to atmosphere. Why should this technique be used? Because if the wine were transferred by gravity, whether by siphon or not, it would require lifting the heavy first cask above the other, or if the second cask were first brought below the level of the first one, into a pit, for example, it would have to be lifted out afterward when full. This is an ingenious labor saving device.

It is worth one's while to examine this book and identify the various plants shown, among them wheat, oats, clover, peas, grapevines on

arbors, and so on. At a cooperage works the artisan tightens hoops on a tub, while a coil of oakum caulking lies on the floor. There is a wheeled plow with adjustable main coulter and small sod-cutter, an overshot water-wheel with complete rigging, comparative architectural types such as the castle, the half timbered and stucco house, and so forth. The man who performs a graft on fol. 21 has his jacket sleeves rolled up, but the sleeves of his undershirt are long and tight.

Many of these same cuts were used in another edition of the same work, also in the Rutgers Library, by Bartholomei of Strassburg, 1512. The execution is not so crisp as in the Speier edition of 1490, but a careful comparison shows that the blocks were identical.

Then we have a fine octavo copy, Venice, 1511, in the vernacular. (The first Italian translation was made anonymously and published at Florence in 1478.) In the threshing scene shown, three men ply flails, one uses a pitchfork, a rake and a broom lie on the ground nearby, while the overseer sits in the shade on a porch with a fan in one hand and a long cool drink in the other, with his replenishing jug ready to hand, also kept with care in the shade. The scene aptly illustrates Vergil, *Georgics*, I, 298, where we are told that threshing is to be done "medio aestu," that is, in midday's heat (*see fig. 2*). The illustration of the cooperage shop from this same edition has been used for the article on Crescenzi in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (*see fig. 3*).

The same author appears in the Polish vernacular, printed by Stanislaw Szarfrenberger, Krakow, 1571. The Rutgers copy is the only one known to the Library of Congress. In it a large cut of two columns' spread (*see frontispiece*) shows a garden enclosed by a wall and picket fence, wherein the women workers outnumber the men three to two. A left-handed man in the foreground is spading; another carries spade and hoe on his shoulder, while one woman scatters seed, another rakes a seed-bed, and the third trains some young vine-shoots about their supporting stake. In the background are some well-developed vines on tall supports and a banked-up bed of some plant such as celery. There is much charm, both in touches of detail and in perspective, in all the illustrations in this edition, including the scene of a horse-plow and an ox-plow in the same field: the appropriate hitch is shown for each team, yokes for the oxen and traces for the horses (*see fig. 4*). The traces are actually padded at the point where they might

rub and gall. Other cuts show such operations as spike-tooth harrowing, broadcasting, haying—where the driver is properly mounted on the nigh wheel-horse (*see fig. 5*), and grafting, with artisans in the very act of inserting slips in the stocks, a bundle of slips in the foreground, and a completed graft in the middle distance (*see fig. 6*).

There are in our library in all some sixty titles pertaining to the *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ* or *Geponici*: one, noted above, of the fifteenth century; thirty-two of the sixteenth century; and so on down to our own time. It must suffice to close with mention of a modern work, interesting and of attractive format, a monograph on poultry farming as reported by Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius,¹ by Alessandro Ghigi, Milan, 1939. The text of the originals and an English translation are given in parallel columns, while the book is illustrated with examples of chickens, peacocks, and so forth, in classical art now in various museums.

¹ *Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius*, author of a farmers' calendar, most of whose material is taken from Columella.

LEIGH HUNT'S LONDON JOURNAL

By LESLIE A. MARCHAND

*Dr. Marchand, a member of the Department of English, is the author of *The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture*, a volume in which he has told the history of one of the most notable of all the English literary magazines of the Nineteenth Century. In the following article he gives an account of a short-lived but interesting contemporary of the *Athenaeum*.*

TURNING over the leaves of *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* is an experience that can open the pages of the past more realistically than can the perusal of any social or literary history of Pre-Victorian England. That experience may fortunately be had in the Rutgers University Library which has recently acquired a complete set of the 91 numbers and all the monthly supplements of this interesting weekly periodical which began April 2, 1834, and ended abruptly on December 26, 1835. Since he started *The Examiner* in 1808, Hunt had had experience in many periodical adventures—*The Reflector*, *The Indicator*, *The Liberal* (aided and abetted by Byron), *The Companion*, *The Chat of the Week*, *The Tatler*¹—and he had learned something of the tastes and interests of his audience. Personal and familiar as is the editorial tone of the *London Journal*, Hunt put more variety into it than into some of his other periodicals, albeit less original material graced its pages. Having less impulse to *lèse majesté* and perhaps less desire for martyrdom than in his *Examiner* days when he was jailed for calling the Prince Regent “a libertine over head and ears in disgrace,” he eschewed politics and went in for “improvement” and the spread of knowledge in pleasant doses to the “penny public.”

In the address to his readers in the first number he stated his purpose clearly:

The object of this publication, which is devoted entirely to subjects of miscellaneous interest, unconnected with politics, is to supply the lovers of knowledge with an *English Weekly Paper*, similar in point of size and variety, to *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, but with a character a little more southern and literary.

¹ *The Examiner*, 1808-1821; *The Reflector*, 1810-1811; *The Indicator*, 1819-1821; *The Liberal*, 1822-1823; *The Companion*, 1828; *The Chat of the Week*, 1830; *The Tatler*, 1830-1832.

Although Hunt didn't expect to achieve the large circulation of *Chambers's* nor that of the *Penny Magazine*, which, with the advantage of being subsidized by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, had built up a circulation of more than a hundred thousand, yet he felt that with all the growth of periodical literature there were still some gaps in the supplies to the public intellect. One of these gaps which he hoped the *London Journal* would fill he described as "consisting in a want of something more connected with *the ornamental part of utility*,—with the art of extracting pleasurable ideas from the commonest objects, and the participations of a scholarly experience." He hoped to reach the "thousands of improving and inquiring minds" in the metropolis.

With this end in view it was proposed that the *London Journal* should consist of

One Original Paper or Essay every week, from the pen of the Editor; of matter combining entertainment with information, selected by him in the course of his reading, both old and new; of a weekly abstract of some popular or otherwise interesting book, the spirit of which will be given *entire . . .*; and, lastly, of a brief current notice of the Existing State of Poetry, Painting, and Music, and a general sprinkle of Notes, Verses, Miscellaneous Paragraphs, and other helps to pleasant and companionable perusal.

In fact, during its brief existence the *London Journal* did give its readers all that Hunt promised and more, and it did chart a way and fill a gap between the wholly utilitarian and non-literary penny magazines on the one hand, and the more sedate literary journals on the other. To show the good feeling existing among these pre-Victorian "improvers" one might point to the letter from Robert Chambers printed in the fourth number of the *London Journal* commending Hunt's effort but taking exception to his claim to be the "originator of cheap respectable publications," which distinction Chambers reserved for his elder brother. Hunt added a polite rebuttal, saying that "the appearance of the *Tatler* was antecedent to that of the *Edinburgh Journal*, and that in the *Indicator*, and in the *Tatler* also, (if we recollect rightly), we professed a wish to extend an acquaintance with matters of intellectual refinement among the uneducated." And Hunt added a generous note of praise for another contemporary which had tried to reach the masses without stooping except in price: "We take this opportunity of observing, that among the foremost, if not the very first, to lower the price of respectable periodical literature,

though not professedly to extend it to those who have missed a classical education, was the *Athenaeum*.²

When *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* began on April 2, 1834, it was a Wednesday publication, price three halfpence. Like most of the weekly periodicals of the time it had three columns of fine print, and throughout its existence it consisted of eight folio pages. For the convenience of country readers it was also bound in monthly parts. The publisher at first was "H. Hooper, 13, Pall Mall East," and the printer, "Sparrow, 11, Crane Court." Within a few months, however, evidence of the progress of the new machine age is given in the line at the bottom of the first page: "From the Steam-Press of C. & W. Reynell, Little Pultney Street." Nine monthly supplements, each of eight pages, appeared in 1834, containing a serial on "The Streets of the Metropolis, their memoirs and great men," a work which must have involved much research on the part of the editor. After the first number the whole of the back page was given to advertisements, mostly of book publishers, though occasionally also of such ingenious mechanical inventions as "Self-acting Portable Water Closets." But the advertisements disappeared entirely with Number 20 (August 13, 1834), leaving more room for "improvements." The first volume concluded with Number 40, December 31, 1834.

On June 6, 1835, a merger was made with Charles Knight's *The Printing Machine*, and the new periodical became *Leigh Hunt's London Journal and The Printing Machine*, the price being increased to twopence and the publication date changed to Saturday. The format and the number of pages remained the same. Each of the combining periodicals kept its original character, three or four of the eight pages being given to *The Printing Machine*, which followed the *London Journal* under its own title and consisted solely of book reviews. Charles Knight, editor and printer of the successful *Penny Magazine* as well as of *The Printing Machine*, probably bolstered the tottering finances of the *London Journal*.² Knight became the publisher and Leigh Hunt continued as editor. The monthly supplement was taken up again on June 30 and continued "The Streets of the Metropolis" and gave some extra reviews for *The Printing Machine*.

² There is no way of telling exactly what the circulation was, though it was probably not more than a few thousand. Many sixpenny periodicals at the time lived on a circulation of two or three thousand. The low price may have encouraged a wider sale for the *London Journal*, however. The *Athenaeum* had increased its circulation six fold (to about 18,000) by lowering the price from 8d. to 4d.

The bulk of the *Journal* from the beginning consisted not of miscellaneous original articles or stories such as we would expect in a periodical of general interest today, but of regular features and series under the same headings week after week. The first page was usually given over to an informal essay by the editor. The tone of these essays is familiar to the readers of Hunt: sympathetic, whimsical, confessional, and warmly human. Second only to Lamb in taking common daily experience and investing it with glowing significance, Hunt delighted in subjects like "Breakfast in Summer," or "Tea-drinking," or "'A Now,' Descriptive of a Cold Day," and when he embarked upon such a subject his readers got much more than their three ha'penny or twopence worth.

Four or five series of regular features filled the greater part of the remaining pages. In making up these, Hunt used scissors and paste a great deal, but many of them involved considerable research on the part of the editor nevertheless. There was the "Letter to such of the Lovers of Knowledge as have not had a Classical Education," consisting of popularizations of classic writers, of Greek mythology, and so forth. "The Week" consisted of informative and chatty comment on matters appropriate to the season—on the birds, on cricket, on folk-lore and history—with copious quotations from books, the general tone being that of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, "improvement" with a sugar coating. A regular feature in the first six numbers was called simply "The London Journal." It told what was going on in the world of books, pictures, operas, music, "sometimes as persons present, sometimes as mere recorders of the leading opinions of the town." It was meant for country readers who would like to know "a little of what is going forward, on points interesting to the advancement of knowledge." Paganini, who was then the god of the London musical season, several times received honorable mention in the paragraphs of this section. No praise was too high for him "and his marvelous violin which is now to be heard at the Adelphi, glorying, praying, laughing, lamenting, making love."

The longest-running of all the feature series in the *Journal*, and perhaps the most congenial to its editor, was that called "Romances of Real Life," which began in the first number and continued throughout the life of the magazine. Like most of the material except Hunt's initial essay in each issue, it was not original but derivative, though displaying much ingenuity of selection and presentation.

"Table Talk," later gathered into a volume by Hunt, consisted of miscellaneous tid-bits from literature and general knowledge, not unlike what we are now accustomed to seeing in the short end paragraphs in the *Reader's Digest*—anecdotes from letters, journals, or memoirs, or Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, and sometimes popularized natural history from the *Penny Magazine* and *Chambers' Cyclopedia*. This feature ran pretty regularly from the second number, and there was added later "Hints for Table Talk" from correspondents.

As Hunt had promised, he gave abstracts of novels and other books of current interest, one in every issue. These later developed into reviews of a sort with lengthy extracts. Except in the journals of high literary pretension, book reviews in those days were little more than this—extracts spliced together with a little introductory matter or a few transition summaries. This is not the ideal of criticism, but unless the reviewer has special qualifications for the critical evaluation of the book under consideration, there is much to be said for the method; at least it permits the author to speak for himself more effectively than in the garbled paraphrase of an incompetent reviewer. Book reviewing as such, however, was not a regular feature of the journal until it combined with *The Printing Machine*.

Beginning with number 15, "Specimens of Celebrated Authors" was a frequent feature. Hunt's own interests and tastes are displayed in the selections: Montaigne, Cowley, Swift, Goethe, Jean Paul Richter, St. Evremond, Addison, Voiture, Jean Balzac (a seventeenth century French writer who was a favorite and correspondent of Richelieu). A companion feature, "Characteristic Specimens of the English Poets," never got beyond Chaucer, who was presented with enthusiastic comments and explanations for the layman interspersed with copious quotations from a Mr. Clarke's *The Riches of Chaucer*, "in which the spelling is modernized, and the old pronunciation marked with accents, so as to show the smoothness of the versification."

Toward the end of 1834 special departments of Fine Arts and Music were set up, at least in name, but the work of the editor was already too great to permit a thorough covering of exhibitions and concerts. It is not surprising that the editor of a one-man periodical should fall back on second hand reports and reviews of books in the respective fields.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the *Journal* to the modern reader is the attention given to contemporary writers and books which have lasted in literary history. Following the death of Lamb in 1834, not only did the *London Journal* give an obituary notice but it also printed an "Autobiographical Sketch," "Personal Recollections," running through four numbers, and "Specimens and Criticism," continued through six numbers. In the second volume (1835) Hazlitt's *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (republished from the second edition) ran serially until complete.

Hunt rightly prided himself on being of that small band who treasured the memory and the poetry of Keats during the period of twenty-five years or more after his death when he was either entirely unknown or misunderstood and derided by critics who took their cue from the unfair personal attacks in the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's* during Keats's lifetime. Hunt's presentation of "The Eve of St. Agnes," in more than three pages of a leading article on January 21, 1835, with a running comment of praise and explanation, was a notable contribution to the reestablishment of the reputation of the forgotten poet. It is the best kind of appreciative criticism; one feels the communicable glow of personal enthusiasm of one of the earliest friends and champions of Keats.

Hunt was generally acute in discovering, and generous in praising, new talent which arose in his own day. One of the most extensive and most sympathetic and understanding reviews of Browning's *Paracelsus* appeared in the *London Journal* of November 21, 1835, taking the whole of the three and a half pages of the *Printing Machine* section. Other books noticed or reviewed at length in 1835 included Coleridge's *Table Talk*, Longfellow's *Outre-Mer*, and Willis's *Pencillings by the Way*.

Altogether Hunt gave a great deal for the money. Although much of the material was of necessity derived from the reading of the editor, his reading was wide, his taste good, his selections wisely chosen and interestingly presented. The magazine was neither dull nor shoddy. Hunt felt his responsibility towards his readers and never padded out the journal indiscriminately merely for the sake of filling space. The weaknesses were those inherent in a one-man periodical. (Hunt had almost no aid except a few compositions by a promising young man named Egerton Webbe, a poem or two from Landor, and a few paragraphs from "Correspondents.") In spite

of his attempt at variety, there was an inevitable sameness of tone, and that tone was possibly a little high for his three halfpence or twopenny readers. With all his efforts to sugarcoat and popularize, Hunt himself was too sensitive to subtleties and too literary for readers whose level was more nearly struck by the matter-of-fact *Penny Magazine*, and the utilitarian *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*. The sheer labor of editing must have contributed as much as the financial instability of Hunt's journal to its demise at the end of 1835.

But for a reader of literary and general cultural interests today, *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* is still good reading. Hunt himself recorded in his *Autobiography* (written in 1850) that the bound volumes were then "in request, I understand, as a book for sea-voyages; and assuredly its large, triple columned, eight hundred pages, full of cheerful ethics, of reviews, anecdotes, legends, table-talk, and romances of real life, make a reasonable sort of library for a voyage. . . ."

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE NEW BRUNSWICK STAGE

By ORAL SUMNER COAD

PART III¹

1872

THE year opened impressively and unintelligibly with Charley Shay's Monster Quincuplexal Exposition, "Positively the Largest and best on Earth," on January 3rd and 4th. It is a trifle disappointing to discover that Mr. Shay merely provided another variety show involving a burlesque *Blue Beard*, a pantomime, a dog act, acrobatic feats, and the like. Probably no one had difficulty in understanding Tony McCrystal's announcement of his Female Minstrels and French Can-Can for February 1st. Clearly sophistication was overtaking New Brunswick. The ultimate in sophistication of that era was the famous—or, as some would have it, infamous—extravaganza, *The Black Crook*. Although it had not yet been exhibited in this city, on July 9th Hooley's Minstrels made so bold as to present a burlesque of this shocking show. Some half-dozen other minstrel and variety troupes came to town during the year, but perhaps we have already said enough and to spare about minstrel and variety troupes.

The season brought the usual complement of circuses and more than the usual number of distinguished circus names. On April 18th arrived "P. T. Barnum's Great Travelling Museum, Menagerie, Caravan, Hippodrome, Polytechnic Institute, International Zoological Garden and Dan Castello's Morally Refined Circus," and for August 28th his rival and future associate, not to be outdone in high-sounding labels, advertised "Geo. F. Bailey & Co.s Quadruple Combination Menagerie, Circus, Gymnasium and Grand Musical Accompaniment."

But these varied amusements did not crowd the more strictly dramatic events out of the calendar. The local amateurs gave two more "parlor entertainments" on January 19th and 30th, the first

¹ Part I of this article appeared in the *Journal* of December, 1941, and Part II in the issue of June, 1942.

consisting of an elaborate charade and a three-act satire on the woman's rights movement entitled *The Spirit of '76, or the Coming Woman*, while the second was made up of three short plays. Again the German actors held forth, this time the Dramatic Harmonie Society of Elizabeth, which gave *The Werrwarr* on March 18th at Saenger Hall. Still another amateur event of March 27th and 28th was a minstrel show got up by the college students for the benefit of the Rutgers Boating Association. The *Fredonian* pronounced it "very creditable to the performers, amusing and satisfactory to the large audiences, and beneficial (pecuniarily) to the Boating Association to the extent of \$100 or more."

The most ambitious amateur production yet attempted in New Brunswick was *The Color Guard*, presented by Kearny Post No. 15 of the G.A.R. during the week of March 11th. This so-called "military allegory" by Col. A. R. Calhoun was more nearly a drama, with a love story running through it to bind the soldier scenes together. The production was so extensive that the meagre stage of Greer's Hall had to be built out into the auditorium. The acting was declared to be excellent, and the receipts were over \$1,200. On December 9th *The Color Guard* was revived for another week.

The professionals were much more in evidence this year than in 1871. First to come was Albert Aiken, supported by his New York company, who presented on January 29th *The Witches of New-York*, described as a realistic play of city life. This piece, of Aiken's own authorship, was being given repeatedly in the metropolis. Early in June the Sappho Lyric Comedy Company, featuring Kate Ellis, a twelve-year-old actress who used the stage name of Sappho, gave *The Little Treasure*, which the *Fredonian* considered excellent and in which Sappho displayed "quite a high order of talent." But a second performance was canceled because of a suit over the guardianship of the precocious miss.

Amy Stone and her troupe stopped off on August 10th to give a single performance of *Cigarette*. On October 23rd came William Horace Lingard and his wife, Alice Dunning, with their company of fifteen. He was a well-liked New York actor and manager, and she was a beautiful and vivacious woman, who, writes Professor Odell, won "great favour in New York in the '70s, and in London in

the '80s."² Their bill consisted of Charles Dance's long popular comedietta, *Delicate Ground*, the old farce, *The Day After the Wedding*, and Lingard's much applauded impersonations of celebrities, such as Brigham Young, General Grant, and Horace Greeley (the two latter being rival candidates for the Presidency).

A much less finished type of entertainment was provided on December 16th by the Wallace Sisters' Opera, Burlesque, and Comedy Troupe. Singing, dancing, orchestral music, and two farces, *The Wrong Man* and *Aladdin, or the Wonderful Scamp*, made up a program which disappointed many because of the extravagant mode of acting and costuming. A more serious complaint, however, was brought by the *Fredonian* against a part of the audience, namely, the rougher element among the young fry, which indulged in rowdyism throughout the evening, hooting and yelling without check from the proper authorities. Indeed one gathers from occasional newspaper comments that such hoodlumism was all too commonly displayed at Greer's Hall. Perhaps the worst instance occurred two years before at a lecture by one Professor Joseph Green. The rowdies, having punctuated his discourse with disorder from the beginning, turned off the gas when he was about half finished and drove him from the stage with a shower of beans, corn, and shot. Let us end the year, however, in a more elevated strain by recording "An Evening of the Passions" on December 28th by J. Prescott Eldridge, who imitated eminent orators and actors, and portrayed such passions as hate and love, sorrow and joy.

1873

The last year in which Greer's Hall dominated the local amusement field began promisingly on January 2nd with a one-night appearance of the popular Amy Stone and her Dramatic Alliance in "her specialties," *Wild Meg* and *The Irish Diamond*. On January 10th and 11th a panorama called *Hiberniana* was accompanied by an Irish farce written by one of the managers and actors, Jerry Cohan, father of our lamented contemporary, George M. March 17th and 18th saw the Irish still firmly in control of the situation when Caroline Hayes, a New York actress, and J. H. Mulligan, with a supporting company, gave *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* and *Uncle*

² G. C. D. Odell, *op. cit.*, VIII (1936), 529.

Tom's Cabin. The *New Brunswick Daily Times* of the 18th reported that "the rowdies who frequent Greer's Hall during performances" were given a warning the previous night when Special Officer Wilcox removed one disturbance-maker. But the warning went unheeded, for the next evening one or two more hoodlums had to be ejected. The *Times* of the 19th further remarked that the actors in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were frequently applauded, "which is something extraordinary for a New Brunswick audience to do." Surely the town's riotous youths and paralyzed adults would not provide the most congenial environment for play acting.

As a matter of fact Greer's Hall was losing caste in several respects. When the Raritan Boat Club got up an amateur program for March 28th, consisting of a "domestic tragedy," *Babes in the Woods*, and a farce, *D'Ye Know Me Now?*, the hall chosen was Saenger not Greer's. The *Times* of the 28th observed that "There is no question of the superiority of Saenger over Greer's Hall when the arrangement of the stage is taken into consideration"—not, by the way, the first indication of the inadequate stage equipment at the Burnet Street establishment. The Boat Club appears to have been satisfied with its choice, for it gave a second program—*Look Before You Leap*, a one-act comedy, and *New Brooms Sweep Clean*, a farce—at Saenger on April 23rd. Meanwhile Saenger Hall continued to offer German drama or at least drama for Germans. On March 24th a German troupe (presumably amateur) from Newark and Elizabeth gave *David Garrick*, on May 19th the Harmonie Club of Elizabeth presented the farce, *Wie denken sie darüber?*, and on October 7th three short plays made up a bill that the *Times* called a success, unlike the previous attempts at German drama.

But Greer's Hall still housed the professional bands. Here Lanier's Dramatic Company gave *Wedded, Yet No Wife* on April 22nd with the Dutch comedian, Thomas W. Bolas, and Jennie Carroll, a minor New York player, in the leading rôles; here Agnes Wallace (of the Wallace Sisters) and her Burlesque and Comedy Troupe presented *Mischief Making* and a burlesque *Robin Hood* on May 23rd; and here, on May 29th, appeared the most noted actress yet seen in New Brunswick, none other than Fanny Herring, the unrivaled favorite of the Bowery Theatre audiences, who gave *The Female Detective*, in which she acted six parts. Yet even greater thrills were in store when, on September 8th, F. G. Maeder's melo-

drama, *Buffalo Bill, King of the Border Men*, was performed, with Buffalo Bill, Texas Jack, and Wild Bill Hickok appearing in person together with a corps of Indians. The jam at Greer's Hall was said to be terrific.

The substantial number of plays this year did not mean that New Brunswick was deprived of its favorite amusements. At least eight minstrel or variety shows came to town, and four circuses made glad the youthful heart, one of which, Murray's Railroad Circus, on September 19th included the "spectacular equestrian drama" of *Dick Turpin's Ride to York and the Death of Black Bess*.

But our chronicle of the century comes to an end not with black-face jollity or the glories of the tan-bark arena, but with the failure of a play at Greer's Hall. On November 13th, 14th, and 15th a temperance drama, *Three Years in a Man Trap*, based on a story by T. S. Arthur, was presented by the Connolly Brothers of Philadelphia with the aid of local talent. Starting well, the audiences rapidly dwindled despite the advertised appeal of a burning house and a snow storm on the stage, until on the third night the receipts did not equal the expenses. Perhaps the indifference of the playgoers was occasioned by the imminent opening of a new theatre, which was to dwarf Greer's Hall into insignificance. After two years of building, the Masonic Hall, on the corner of George and Albany Streets now occupied by the Whelan Drug Company, was all but completed. On November 24th the splendid and spacious new opera house which it contained was formally opened with a concert by the New Brunswick Choral Society and visiting soloists; and from this time forward Greer's Hall ceased to count.

It was high time for New Brunswick to take stock of its theatrical status and to bid for a higher level of stage art than the town was accustomed to. Undoubtedly the *Fredonian* of July 25th reflected the opinion of many cultivated citizens when, looking forward to the completion of Masonic Hall, it remarked:

A few first-class entertainments at the opening would no doubt do much to give the new Opera House a popular reputation, and elevate the character of our amusement-loving public, and render less popular the nigger-shows and other demoralizing performances that have so long held sway in this City, mainly because we have had no proper place for first class entertainments.

Perhaps "demoralizing" is too strong a word, but most of the exhibitions at Greer's Hall could scarcely add much to the cultural

standing of the town. When that auditorium was opened in 1853, it was probably adequate to the modest theatrical needs of a small town, but twenty years later New Brunswick was a thriving little city of over 15,000 with a greatly increased interest in the drama, as a comparison of the three instalments of this paper will at once make clear, yet it had no accommodations for other than small, second-rate troupes. Probably the most profitable audience Greer's Hall ever held, with the best seats selling at the maximum price of seventy-five cents, brought in no more than \$300. Little wonder, then, if none of the major players of the period ever appeared at the Burnet Street house. But with the opening of Masonic Hall, the city was equipped with a modern and capacious theatre, which at once ushered in a new and far more dignified era in the history of the New Brunswick stage.

Acknowledgment: It is a pleasure to express my obligation to those who have aided me with counsel and comfort in the preparation of this paper. I should like especially to mention Mr. John P. Wall, indefatigable historian of New Brunswick, Mr. Elmer T. Hutchinson, zealous and generous antiquarian, Mr. Alexander S. Graham, whose vivid memories of the local stage are a valuable source of knowledge, and Dr. Rudolf Kirk, who first encouraged me to undertake this study, and who has done what he could to keep it within reasonable limits.



*From the New Brunswick Daily
Fredonian, May 10, 1872*

THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS

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Robert G. Dickson

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NOTES FROM THE LIBRARY

JOSEPH P. BRADLEY

JOSEPH P. BRADLEY was graduated from Rutgers College in the Class of 1836. He studied law, was admitted to the bar, practised law in the city of Newark, and soon became a leader of the bar of New Jersey. In 1870 he was appointed by President Grant an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He served in that office with great distinction for twenty-two years, until his death. His name is most familiar in connection with the Legal Tender decision of the Court soon after his appointment and with the action of the Electoral Commission in 1876 when he was the fifth justice in that body of fifteen justices, senators, and representatives, under whose judgment, eight to seven, Rutherford B. Hayes became President of the United States by electoral vote of 185 to 184. With his devotion to the law and judiciary, he indulged life-long interest in literature and science, especially in religious thought and in mathematics. He was a trustee of Rutgers from 1858 until his death in 1892.

In the Library are several letters written by Bradley over a hundred years ago to his college friend and sometime roommate David D. Demarest, of the Class of 1837, who, after graduation, studied theology, became Professor in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, and was a Trustee of Rutgers from 1858 until his death in 1898. The letters are of arresting interest, revealing the quality at that early age of the man who was to become in later life so distin-

guished for his ability, character, and public service. In 1837 he was twenty-four years of age; his friend was eighteen. The letters are largely in the nature of advice. A logical legal-like turn of mind is constantly apparent. He marshals his thoughts in one, two, three order. When he is referring to an inquiry of the divinity student as to possible missionary service, he analyzes a searching of duty: First, is it every divinity student's duty to become a missionary? Second, if not, who are the persons that should become missionaries? Third, are you included in the latter number? He then discusses each point at length.

He is mature in his thinking, and he formulated a philosophy of life, a moral philosophy. Character and duty hold first place. "The maintenance of an unsullied character, the faithful exhibition of a circumspect life . . . live longer than marble and are read in the hearts of after generations."

He had come to college from a church connection, guided by his minister, and his intention at entrance was to study for the ministry. Sometime in the college years, he decided that the law ought to be his profession. This did not mean a less religious devotion; perhaps it enlarged the devotional advice to his friend. "I must begin with the consideration of what is expected of you as a Christian and what means you may employ in order most successfully to meet those expectations," he writes. His religious devotion and conviction are naturally of the ardently orthodox and evan-

gelical sort; references to the doctrines of grace in the old doctrinal terms are frequent; and he dwells upon his devotion to his own church, the Dutch Reformed.

Added to his moral and religious staple of personal attainment is his broad view of the field of learning. Evidently he was a wide reader and had a zest for all learning and a large outlook on life. "There are three or four books I would recommend . . .: Blackstone, Bell's Anatomy, Good's Book of Nature, and Goldsmith's Natural History. Every professional man, besides a large acquaintance with his own profession, should have a bird's eye view of the other departments of human learning. The above books will give you the fundamental principles of Law, Medicine, Natural Philosophy and Natural History."

"If you have not read the Life of Oberlin, get it and read it," he writes in another letter. "Will you look and inquire if there is such a book in the college library as Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Netherlands. . . . I want to see it very much. . . . Ecclesiastical History, I say, is one of the most important branches of theological learning. Did you ever read Paley's *Horae Paulinae*? . . . You will have a feast." Knowledge of the world he recommends also, and travel too—perhaps a trip to the South or West. "If you have your eyes open and some choice books with you to digest when you stay two or three weeks in a place, you will add a cubit or more to the stature of your intellectual man." After graduation, "travel two or three years. . . . take these two or three years in which you are travelling for writing sermons, . . .

a course of sermons. . . . Suppose you take your Heidelberg Catechism for your platform. . . . Write these sermons as elaborately and elegantly as you can—consult books."

This urging of studious and careful work and of wide interest and experience has direction towards definite service to the world, a consciousness of national need. "Our country is yet like a wayward child, without a parent or a friend to restrain the ferment of youthful spirit. Without the salutary warnings and convictions which Religion can give, she will be a spoiled child."

The much developed discussion of such matters as piety and duty is not without its interpolations of a variety of personal references, reminders of college exploits, evidences of thought and love for Alma Mater. "Write as soon as you can, for I want to hear from Brunswick." College associates are referred to by their intimate names. In reference to the burning of Prexy in effigy, he says: "Boys will be boys and it is vain to attempt pummeling it out of them. . . . How much our feelings change as we grow older." He speaks of the distribution of honors at Commencement. "As to commencement orator I think that J. Q. Adams is the man if he will come (or) Caleb Cushing, if a member, or J. F. Cooper." He welcomes a catalogue with the names carrying the letters of membership in literary societies, and inquires, "How gets on the Society?" (*The Philoclean*). He asks how large the new class is at the Seminary, and says, "God be thank't that the Seminary is so flourishing." He tells of looking at the pretty girls who pass by and indulges in extended

humor as to a fellow student who has lost his heart, and writes humorous inquiry and warning to his friend, "Have an eye to windward or you won't know where you are."

Beside the letters to David D. Demarest, there are in the library four letters of Joseph P. Bradley to William J. Thompson, a student friend in the class ahead of him, letters written in the same years, 1837-1839. They carry out and confirm the same trend of thought, religious conviction and personal feeling. He stresses his own reading of ecclesiastical history, his adherence to the Calvinistic theology, and the keeping of an open mind. He is particularly engaged with the Reformation and particularly critical of a counter trend at the time apparent in the English Church; he discusses the bearing of the Reformation tenets upon the progress of mankind and upon the duties of the present day. Then he extols the whole field of learning, its infinite variety, the attractions of study, and the sweep of the human mind. "What a mind God has given to man! . . . He hath set the World in man's heart."

These letters make interesting reading today, not only as the words of a distinguished alumnus, but also as a reflection of the college and general life of the time, its earnestness and its scholarly and pious preoccupations.

W. H. S. DEMAREST

STUDENTS AND THE ARMY:
1791

The following communication to the *Brunswick Gazette*, Tuesday, January 25, 1791 (a copy of which reposes in the

Rutgers Library), on a bill of Congress for exemptions from the militia of ministers and college students, should not be without some interest to the present college generation, though the language and the attitude of the writer both savor of the quaint moral world of the eighteenth century:

TO ONE OBJECTION MORE, which I have heard made to the bill, I mean the exemption of ministers of the gospel, and students of colleges: I shall reply, that as to the exemption of divines, I cannot conceive there are any persons so lost to proper sense of the dignity and importance of religion, as upon a moments [sic] consideration, to oppose that most just and necessary part of the law which would otherwise subject those persons who ought to be the emblems of innocence, and the oracles of truth, to see and hear the vilest acts of wickedness and the most horrid imprecations that men can conceive without the least power to remedy it; but as I have not heard this so particularly opposed as other, viz, the exemption of students of colleges, I shall now attend to that. To deny exemptions to the students of colleges would be at once to shut the doors of refinement and bid adieu to education, which ever ought to be encouraged as much as possible, for that would prevent numbers of persons from sending their children to college, to receive a genteel and liberal education, when they considered that four or five times in a year they would be turned out of close confinement among nameless persons of every stamp, and that they would naturally associate with the worst and wickedest company they could find; from whose example their morals and man-

ners would soon vitiate, and their principles degenerate, like those of their loose companions; and that they would form acquaintance and connexions, which would ever after be their disgrace if not lead to utter ruin.

That they would early be taught to contemn and despise religion and morality, and every other ornamental and honorable virtue, to scoff at the sacred precepts of the minister, and ridicule and laugh at his advice, which are causes sufficient to deter parents from sending their children to college, and are sufficient to put a stop to the chief springs of education, destroy its foundation, and prevent the spreading and encrease thereof; I shall further observe, that education ought constantly and invariably to be cherished and patronized as much as possible in this country, and our rulers have given as great a display of their wisdom and virtue as they possibly could, by giving it every possible encouragement within their power. Would the opposers consider for a moment, they would find that extending it to every class of citizens, is the true method of securing their liberty, by enlightening them so as to discern with clearness the proceedings of the legislature, and renders [*sic*] them good and faithful citizens.

IMPARTIAL
ZORA KLAIN

A LONGFELLOW LETTER

AMONG a group of papers recently presented to the Library by the late Mr. Charles Deshler and his sister, Miss Edith Deshler, was a short note from Henry W. Longfellow to a "Mr. Alden." Since the envelope was

missing, the first name of the recipient was not at a glance apparent. The letter concerns *Kéramos*, a poem in which Longfellow tells of watching a potter at his wheel. It opens with the well-known lines:

Turn, turn, my wheel! Turn round and round
Without a pause, without a sound:
So spins the flying world away!
This clay, well mixed with marl and sand,
Follows the motion of my hand;
For some must follow and some command,
Though all are made of clay!

Then the poet considers the history of the ceramic art as his imagination moves freely from the porcelains of Delft to those of fifteenth-century Italy, of ancient Greece, of Egypt, and finally, of China and Japan.

This poem first appeared in the December, 1877, number of *Harper's Monthly*, which was edited at this time—and for more than forty years after—by Henry Mills Alden, to whom Longfellow's note was undoubtedly addressed. Dated September 13, 1877, the letter is evidently a reply to questions from Alden, for the writer explains that he had considered including the works of Wedgwood and other makers of fine china but omitted them because he "did not see any way of treating picturesquely these modern potteries." Then he remarks that he will "be glad to see the illustrations." Reference to the original poem in *Harper's* at once makes clear this allusion, for fourteen pen and ink drawings by Edwin A. Abbey and an "A. F.," not identified, accompany the lines—apparently with the intention of making more vivid to the reader's imagination the places, wares, and times which the verses pre-

sent to the mind. The editor of *Harper's* was seeing to it that this latest production of the venerable Longfellow was set off to the best advantage.

The letter follows:

Cambr. Sept. 13.
1877

Dear Mr. Alden,

In writing *Keramos* I thought of Wedgewood, and also of Sevres and Dresden. Upon due consideration it seemed best not to come down so far, but to confine myself to the origin of the art. I did not see any way of treating picturesquely these more modern potteries.

I shall be glad to see the Illustrations; and will return them as soon as possible.

Yours very truly

Henry W. Longfellow

R. K.

RUTGERS PUBLICATION

London in Flames, London in Glory: Poems on the Fire and Rebuilding of London 1666-1709, by Robert Arnold Aubin. (Rutgers University Studies in English, Number Three.)

A GENERATION of men who have seen London once more gutted by fire can best understand the meaning of the title *London in Flames, London in Glory*. For out of the flames of the German incendiary bombs and because of those flames, the moral glory of Londoners has been again displayed as it shone forth in the September of 1666. But if twentieth-century men have trouble in finding one single cause for the war of which this latest visi-

tation was a part, the seventeenth-century Englishman had no such difficulty. He knew well enough, as Dr. Aubin points out, that God's wrath was justly visited upon him for his manifold sins: "This we are sure of, that whoever kindled the fire, God did blow the coal."

Dr. Aubin's book contains thirty-two poems which celebrate various aspects of the Great Fire and rebuilding of the city. Some of these, such as "Vox Civitatis" by an unknown hand, were mere broadside ballads hawked about the streets. Others, including "On the Rebuilding of London," written in the heroic quatrain by Jermias Wells, appeared in collections of the time and pretended to poetic merit. No poem in this volume, however, can be placed beside Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* which, though it also treats of the Fire, has been omitted because it is so generally available.

If the poetic level of these poems on the Great Fire is not high, their interest on other grounds is very great indeed, for in addition to evidence concerning the moral and social attitudes of the times, they contain a wealth of topical material so dear to the historian, the antiquary, and the editor of old texts. In the index under "Royal Exchange," for instance, are eighteen references. On turning to several of these passages we find that the fact of the burning of the Exchange which most impressed the contemporary Londoner was that the statue of Sir Thomas Gresham, the sixteenth-century builder of the great structure, remained standing, unharmed, amidst the ruins. More than a score of churches are named in one place or another, and frequently their

surroundings are described so fully that one can get a clear impression of the whole locality. Dr. Aubin has edited the poems with elaborate introductions and notes and has thus made available for the scholar and the lover of London hundreds of obscure facts which have long lain hidden in inaccessible and unknown poems.

R. K.

RUTGERS PRESS EXHIBIT

CURRENTLY on display at the Library is an impressive array of books published during the first five years of its existence by the Rutgers University Press. Twenty-eight items are displayed in the large case in the exhibit room, all opened at the title page. The most striking first impression is that all of these books, representing the work of the Press from 1938 to 1943, show the hand of meticulous artistry and good taste in design and printing, something which this young university press has prided itself upon since its beginning.

The second impression is of the variety and interest of its offerings. The titles range through history, philosophy, English and foreign language studies, psychology, science, gardening, and bookmaking. Under history may be mentioned *James Madison, Philosopher of the Constitution*, by Edward McNall Burns; *Ploughs and Politicks: Charles Read of New Jersey and his Notes on Agriculture, 1715-1774*, by Carl Raymond

Woodward; and *Colonel James Neilson, A Business Man of the Early Machine Age in New Jersey, 1784-1862*, by Robert T. Thompson.

English studies include *Shakespeare's Influence on the Drama of his Age, Studied in Hamlet*, by Donald J. McGinn; *Two Bookes of Constance, Written in Latine by Justus Lipsius, Englished by Sir John Stradling*, edited with an Introduction by Rudolf Kirk and Notes by Clayton Morris Hall; *London in Flames, London in Glory: Poems on the Fire and Rebuilding of London, 1666-1709*, edited by Robert Arnold Aubin; and *That Rascal Freneau*, by Lewis Leary.

Items of interest in other fields include *American Psychology before William James*, by J. Wharton Fay; *Composing Sticks and Mortar Boards*, by Earl Schenck Miers (an essay on university presses and publishing—a beautifully printed little volume which was chosen by the American Institute of Graphic Arts as one of the fifty best books of the year 1941); *Your Garden this Week*, by Ben Blackburn; and *The Problem of Freedom*, by Thomas Mann (a pamphlet volume reproducing a speech made by the great German writer at Rutgers on April 28, 1939).

Special mention should be given also to the several small volumes which made record of the speeches at the 175th anniversary celebration at Rutgers in 1941.

L. A. M.

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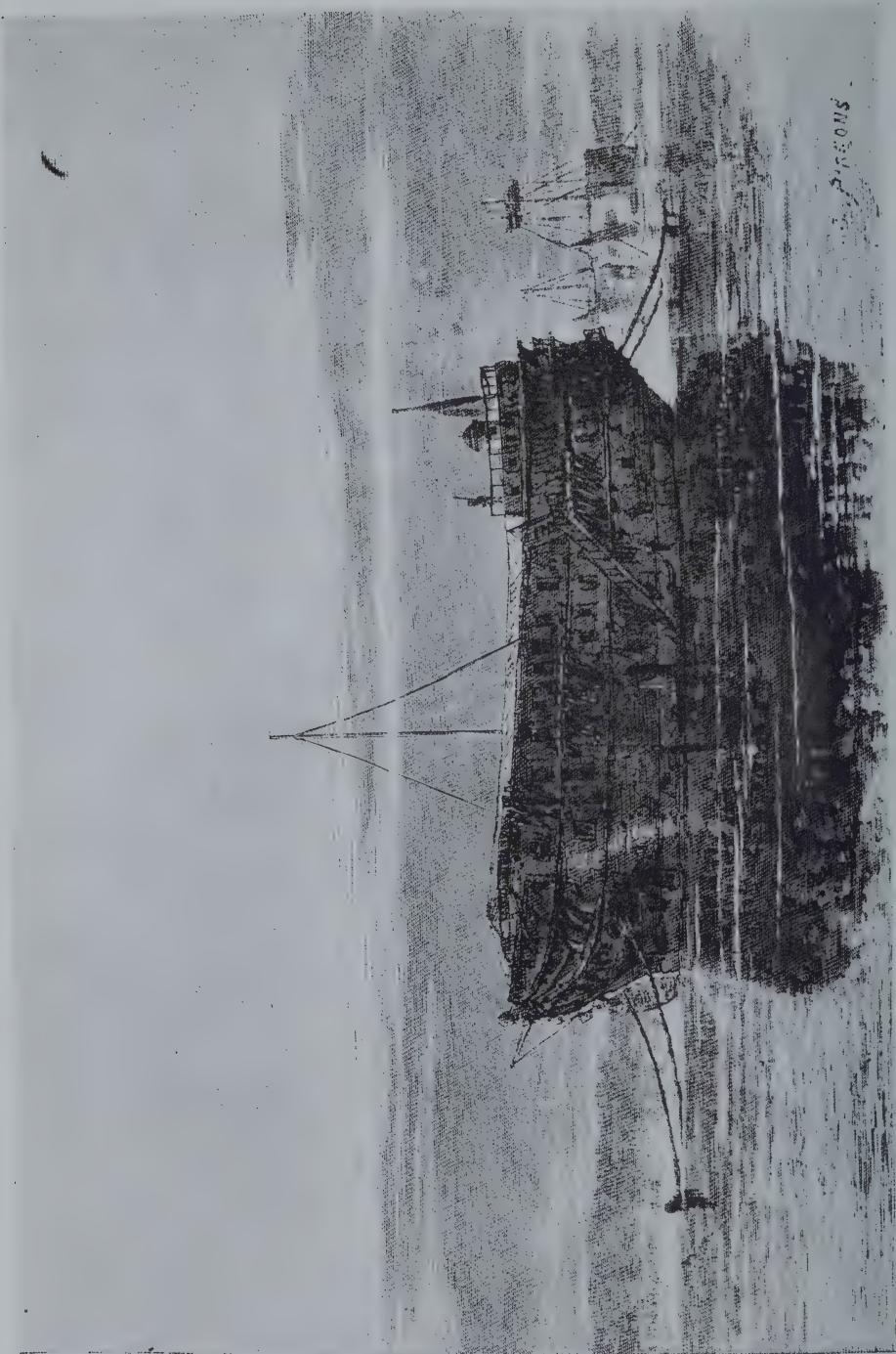
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This picture of the *Jersey*, reproduced from a contemporary drawing, shows the most notorious of the British prison ships. Frereau spent several weeks on a similar ship, the *Scorpion*.

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THE MANUSCRIPT OF PHILIP FRENEAU'S

THE BRITISH PRISON-SHIP

By LEWIS LEARY

Once more Dr. Leary has made available for students of American literature one of the hidden treasures of the Library. This first version of "The British Prison-Ship" is written in Philip Freneau's handwriting in an old notebook, which also contains "The Log of the Brig *Rebecca*," published in the JOURNAL last spring.

FOR six weeks, from June 1 to July 12, 1780, Philip Freneau was a prisoner in the hands of British forces in New York, first on board the prison ship *Scorpion*, then on the hospital ship *Hunter*. Exposed to hot summer suns, stifled with three hundred other captives between decks, witnessing brutalities such as his sensitive poet's mind had not before contemplated, he brought from this experience impressions which he never could, if, indeed, he ever wanted to forget. He had embarked late in May on the ship *Aurora*, for the Caribbean, "to enjoy," he said, "the fruits and flowers of that happy clime." Instead, he and the vessel on which he sailed had been captured by the British warship *Iris* off the capes of Delaware. Freneau suffered intensely, perhaps more than the situation warranted. He was almost "suffocated with heat and stench." The "melancholy sights" and the "dismal countenances" of his fellow captives made the prison ships seem to him "a pretty just representation of the infernal region." His guards were "the most brutal of mankind,"

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"the most vile and detestable of mortals." When finally released at Elizabeth-town Point on July 13, he made his way, by wagon from Elizabeth-town, on foot from Crow's Ferry, toward his home in Monmouth County. "I was afflicted," he said, "with such pains in my joints, I could scarcely walk, and besides, was weakened with a raging fever."¹

Convalescent, apparently, through all the rest of the summer, Freneau began at once to record his experiences. In verse and in prose he told in detail of his capture, of his sufferings, and of the bitter hatred for all British domination which they had bred within him. In March, 1781, the poem was published by Francis Bailey in Philadelphia as *The British Prison-Ship*,² as fervid a hymn of hatred as has ever been produced in America. Soon it was reprinted in part as a broadside *Description of the Sufferings of Those Who Were on Board the Jersey and Other Prison Ships in the Harbour of New-York, During the Struggle for Our Glorious Independence. By an American Who Was a Prisoner on Board of One of Them.*³ Later Freneau revised and expanded the poem for the first collected edition of his works,⁴ improving phraseology and versification, tempering invective, even adding lines from a shorter poem which he had published before his capture.⁵ Lines from the manuscript which had been rejected for the 1781 version were inserted again, but reworked and strength-

¹ Philip Freneau, *Some Account of the Capture of the Ship "Aurora,"* ed. Jay Milles (New York, 1899), *passim*. Freneau's MS of this account is in the Rutgers University Library.

² Only three copies of this pamphlet of 24 pages are, so far as I have been able to discover, in existence—in the Brown University Library, in the Library Company of Philadelphia, and in the New York Historical Society collections.

³ A unique copy of this broadside is found in the Henry E. Huntington Library; see Philip Marsh and Milton Ellis, "A Broadside of Freneau's *The British Prison-Ship*," *American Literature*, xi, 476-80 (January, 1939).

⁴ *The Poems of Philip Freneau. Written Chiefly During the Late War* (Philadelphia, 1786), pp. 186-205. The poem as published in 1781 contains 556 lines, as published in 1786 it contains 642 lines. Fred Lewis Pattee, in *The Poems of Philip Freneau* (Princeton, 1903), II, 18-39, reprints from the 1786 version, but without careful reproduction of Freneau's emphasis in capitalization, italicizing, and punctuation. The student interested in knowing exactly what Freneau printed at this time may go to Harry Hayden Clark, *Poems of Freneau* (New York, 1929), pp. 40-57.

⁵ The first nine lines of "The Loyalists," *The United States Magazine*, I, 315 (July, 1779), are reproduced by Freneau in 1786, canto II, lines 11-19—not in the 1781 printing as stated in Lewis Leary, *That Rascal Freneau* (Rutgers, 1941), p. 423.

ened.⁶ For later editions of his writings⁷ he edited the poem even further, dividing it in 1795, in the volume which he issued from his own press at Mount Pleasant, to eighteen "Canto's from a Prison Ship."

But as he wrote the poem during the summer of 1780 Freneau had little time for revision. He composed at white-heat, scratching his pen across the pages of his notebook with resolution. "Weak as I am," he wrote, "I'll try my strength to day/And my best arrows at these hell-hounds play." But other literary projects soon demanded his attention. The prose account of the capture and imprisonment was written in almost exhaustive detail. Then, when late in September American countrymen learned of Benedict Arnold's apostasy, Freneau found a new subject for his belligerent muse, as he composed a drama in five acts, which he called "The Spy."⁸ By the middle of December the poet was in Philadelphia. A few months later he was associated with Francis Bailey in that city as editor of *The Freeman's Journal*. From this time to the end of the war Freneau's pen was actively engaged in journalism and patriotic politics. There was no time now for such literary niceties as the revision of poems already completed.

We are the more surprised, then, when we turn to Freneau's manuscript of *The British Prison-Ship*,⁹ to find in it so many details different from any published version. It is of course, most like the edition of 1781, of which it is the prototype; but Freneau revised this first draft carefully before he committed it to print. More than fifty lines

⁶ Especially MS lines 1-38, omitted in 1781, but rewritten for the 1786 version as lines 1-32.

⁷ *Poems Written Between the Years 1768 & 1794* (Mount Pleasant, 1795), pp. 162-75, and *Poems Written and Published During the American Revolutionary War* (Philadelphia, 1809), II, 36-52.

⁸ The MS of Act I—Act III, Sc. 2 and the first lines of Sc. 3, is in the Rutgers University Library; one sheet of the MS, containing parts of Sc. 3 and Sc. 4 of Act III, is in the Princeton University Library. Victor Hugo Paltsits, *A Bibliography of the Works of Philip Freneau* (New York, 1903), p. 39, mentions a fragment containing lines from Act IV and Sc. 1 of Act V, a fragment which is now apparently lost (see Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 378). Pattee, *op. cit.*, II, 39-72, reproduces the MS through the extant portion of Sc. 4, Act III.

⁹ The MS, "The Prison Ship—A Poem," is in the same notebook with the "Log of the brig *Rebecca*," "The Spy" fragment, and "Some Account of the Capture of the Ship *Aurora*" in the Rutgers University Library. Portraying Freneau as a sailor, a dramatist, a writer of prose, and a poet, this notebook is quite the most important single Freneau MS in existence.

were discarded, and many lines more were added. He made the early portions, those which had to do with him alone and with the ship on which he sailed from Philadelphia, less personal and particularized. He expanded and developed in more detail those parts which exposed the brutality and the ineptitude of his captors. He polished carefully, tinkering with versification, strengthening adjectives—*vile*, for example, becomes *damn'd*; an ironic *glorious* becomes a straightforward *loathesome*.

In many respects this manuscript version of 1780 is crude and unpolished. Often after a page of couplets composed with apparent ease as Freneau adapted conventional eighteenth-century poetic diction to objective description or the exposition of tyranny, we come upon a verse or a series of verses which have given the young writer trouble because they demand fresh phraseology for the description of some experience or emotion which is distinctly personal and drawn from the particular hardships through which he had so recently lived. Then his pen sputters, is drawn with apparent impatience through a word, a line. Again, the notebook is turned so that another line may be added in the margin, sometimes several lines which cut at right angles over what he had written before. In his attempts at exactness in description or in metrics Freneau often rejected a word, tried another, rejected that, and more than once determined finally on the word first used. As we study the manuscript, we find ourselves in the position of looking, more than a century and a half later, over a young poet's shoulder as he works. He confirms what we have already known of him through his revisions of many other poems as they appear in successive printed editions—that he was a painstaking workman, fond of putting over individual words and lines. But never before have we had the opportunity of seeing just what he did do, the steps he followed, the phrases he rejected, in writing one of his major poems.

The British Prison-Ship was written in 1780, as it was printed in 1781, in four cantos. But Freneau began composition with what we now know as Canto II. Only after the three final cantos had been finished did he go back, change the numbering, and begin on Canto I. His first purpose was "The Various horrors of those Hullks to tell/Those Prison Ships where Pain and sorrow dwell." Thus he began "The Prison Ship—a Poem," and he prefixed to it lines from Vergil:

The Prison-Ship a Poem — Parto II.

Quoniam o Tyrii strobani et Genus omnia futurum
Procurat: —

Multo anima Populi mea fadura eructo
Quae, alii, quoque debent a tempore que,
A hora Iheribus contraria, fractibus undas
Inhuc, anima domis, hignent spargue stetatis.

Lucr. lib. 11. 622.

X The living horrors of these Gulches to tell
These ~~days~~ ^{of} nights where Pain and sorrow dwelt
This be my task — Britons! Britons you
Conspire to murder — those you can't subdue? —
Why else no art of cruelty untry'd
Such heavy vengeance with such hellish pride? —
Death has no charms — His Empire because of his subjects
A desert Country ~~With~~ a cloudy sky —
Death has no charms — except in British Eyes —
See how they count the ~~lives~~ ^{lives} sacrifice —
See how they plant to stain the world with gore
And will your blunder still reward — never?
This ~~attempt~~ ^{attempt} for fame and Empire, since
To ruin, waste and slaughter all alive
As if the Power that formed them did condone
All other nations to be slaves to them — a moment's
Compassion for them an unavailing grace
And pity never warmed a Briton's heart.

A page from the original manuscript of Freneau's poem, *The British Prison-Ship*.

Tum vos O Tyrii stirpem et Genus omne futurum
 Exercete odii:—

—Nullus amor Populis nec foedero sunto
 Nunc, olim, quocumque, dabunt se tempore vires,
 Littora, Litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
 Imprecor, Arma Armis: Pugnent ipsique Nepotes
 Eneid. Lib. IV. 622—¹⁰

Later, when perhaps some of the fire of hatred had burned out of him, he wrote the first canto, telling of the capture of the *Aurora*; and he supplied his poem then with a conventional invocation to the Muse of history, he added supplications to the God of war and to the God of commerce, and he reinforced the opening with patriotic allusions. But this, only after he had first written at white-heat of his sufferings as a prisoner.

Printed below is the version of *The British Prison-Ship* as far as Philip Freneau perfected it in this first manuscript. Rejected words, phrases, and lines are indicated in footnotes, as are the revisions and additions which he subsequently made for the 1781 version. Lines which are written in the margins of the manuscript are enclosed in brackets []. Lines which do not appear in 1781 are printed in italics. When portions of the manuscript have been illegible or when it is not clear which of two readings Freneau meant as final, I have supplied the omission, within square brackets, from the 1781 version. In numbering and naming the cantos I have followed the 1781 printing.¹¹ The spelling, capitalization, and punctuation (or lack of it) are throughout Freneau's. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Paull F. Baum of Duke University, who has made several helpful suggestions concerning the text.

[CANTO I. THE CAPTURE]

*Assist me Clio while in Verse I tell
 The dire Misfortunes that a Ship befell*

¹⁰ Portions of Dido's curse upon the departing Æneas: "Then do ye, O Tyrians, pursue his whole people and his descendants with hatred. . . . Let there be no love nor confederation between the nations. . . . Now or hereafter, whenever strength shall be given, may shore clash with shore, water with waters, I pray, arms with arms; may they have war, they and their children's children."

¹¹ The MS—except in the case of the heading for Canto I, which is identical with 1781—gives confused readings: for Canto II, "The Prison Ship—a Poem—Canto I

*Which outward bound to St Eustatia's Shore
Freight of Tobacco thro the Billows bore*

*From Philadelphia's crowded Port she came
Where first the Builder plannd her lofty frame
With wondrous skill and excellency of art
He formd, disposd and orderd every part,
With joy beheld the stately fabric rise*

10 *And thus addrest their Godships in the Skies
Ye Powers that reign beyond the twinkling Stars
But chiefly those O Mercury and Mars
Grant that this Pile so stately and so Grand
That rose beneath my long experienced hand
That soon must meet the distant ocean's roar
May travel safely still from Shore to Shore
[May still Beneath thy flag Columbia sail]
[Till every bolt and every timber fail]
To British Ruffians never fall a prey*

20 *But sieze these Pirates on the watry way
Their richest ships of Commerce take by force
And alter from our Port their destind course
Grant that brave Lads may man her on the Sea
And still no Coward let her Captain be
But one whose breast with Sense of Honour Glows
Who dares to meet the battle of his foes
And crush their Ships as I this Bottle now"—
He said and dash'd the Botile on the Prow.*

*The listning Gods to Jove these wishes hear
30 Who scattered to the wind the fruitless Prayer,
She must be lost, the God was heard to say,
But richer Prizes shall her loss repay
Fierce Britain claims her captur'd on the Sea
I Jove declare it and the fates decree*

6. Where altered from New to; lofty alt. from giant.

11. Powers alt. from Gods; reign alt. from rule.

20. seize alt. from capture.

22. destind alt. from former.

26. Who alt. from And.

27. And alt. from But.

33. Prizes alt. from captures.

[alt. to II]" for Canto III, "Canto II [cancelled] Canto 3^d The Capture [cancelled]
Canto 2^d"; for Canto IV, "Canto 3^d [cancelled] Canto 4th The Hospital Ship."

*But for her loss Columbia shall defeat
 Full Nineteen Transports of the Quebec fleet
 With richest Cargo floating o'er the main
 Doomd not Quebec but Boston's Port to Gain."*

Aurora now in all her Pomp and Pride
 40 With sails expanded flew along the Tide
 Twas thy deep Stream O Delaware that bore
 This Pile intended for a Southern Shore
 Bound to those isles where endless Summer reigns
 Fair fruits gay Blossoms and enameled Plains,
 Where sloping Lawns the roving swain delight
 And the cool Morn succeeds the balmy Night—
 Where each glad Day a Heaven unclouded brings
 And fragrant Mountains teem with Golden Springs
 From Cape Henlopen with a Southern Gale
 50 When morn emergd we spread each snow white sail
 Then East South East she ploughd the watry way
 Close to the Wind, departing from the Bay,
 Hermes and Mars stood pensive on the Strand
 And Jove with Pity saw her leave the Land,
 To think what ills we wretched Mortals bear
 How vain our Labours and how vain our care.
 The Gale increases as we plough the Deep
 Now scarce we see the distant Mountains peep
 At last they sink beneath the rolling wave
 60 That seems their Summits, as they sink to lave—
 Gay Phoebus now the sacred source of Light
 Had passd the Line of his Meridian height

39. *1781 begins: OUR vessel now in all her pomp and pride,*
 AURORA nam'd, departing cut the tide;
 42. *In 1781 for a Southern Shore becomes for Eustatia's shore.*
 45. *sloping Lawns alt. from fragrant woods. Transposition of lines 45-46 and 47-48
 (as in 1781, 7-10) indicated by notation Where fragrant Woods &c below line 44.*
 47. *glad alt. from bright.*
 48. *fragrant alt. from sloping; teem with Golden alt. from issue forth their.*
 50. *spread each alt. from easd each [each alt. to the progress cancelled]; snow white
 alt. from milk white: in 1781 snow white becomes flowing.*
 51. *she alt. from we: in 1781 watry becomes briny.*
 54. *In 1781 her becomes us.*
 59. *At last they sink alt. from Demergd at last.*
 61. *Gay alt. from When Gay.*
 After 62. *When from the tops a lookout Sailor cries cancelled.*

And Westward hung—impervious to the View
 The Shores were fled and every hill withdrew
 When ever cautious of some neighbouring foe
 Aloft the Captain bade a Sailor go
 To mark if from the Masts aspiring height
 Through all the round a Vessel came in Sight—
 Soon did the Seaman's quick discerning Eye
 70 Far distant to the East a sail espy
 Her lofty masts stood bending to the Gale
 Close to the wind was bracd each shivering Sail
 Next from the Deck we saw th' approaching foe
 Her spangled Bottom seemd in flames to glow—
 [When to the Winds she bowd in dreadful haste]
 [And her Lee guns were delugd in the waste]
 From her top-Gallant streamd an English Jack
 With all her might she strove to gain our track
 Nor strove in vain—The Captain gave command
 80 We tacked about and tried to reach the Land
 As from the South the rapid breezes rise
 Swift from her foe alarimd Aurora flies
 With every Sail expanded to the wind
 She fled the unequal force that lurkd behind,
 Along her Decks disposd in close array
 Each at its Port the grim Artillery lay

63. Westward hung—impervious to the *alt. from* all was sea, and vanishd from the: *in 1781* impervious to the *becomes* absconded from our.
 64. every hill *alt. from* hill *uncancelled* and.
 69. quick *alt. from* far.
 73. Next *alt. from* Seen.
 77. From *alt. from* On; main *cancelled before* top-Gallant; lines 77-78 are expanded in *1781 (39-46)* to

At her top gallant that proud flag we saw,
 Which once aspir'd to give the nations law;
 But humbled now—with grief, regret and pain,—
 No longer holds the empire of the main.

The frigate now had every sail unfurl'd,
 And rush'd tremendous o'er the wat'ry world;
 Fixt and resolv'd our ship to overtake,
 With toil immense she strove to gain our wake;

80. tried *alt. from* strove.
 81. *In 1781* rapid *becomes* fresh'ning.
 82. Aurora *alt. from* Pomona.
 84. force *alt. from* match; lurkd *alt. from* chargd: *in 1781* lurkd *becomes* chac'd.

Soon on the foe with brazen throat to roar
 But small their Size and narrow was their bore
 Yet faithful they, their destind stations keep
 90 To guard the Barque that bears them oer the Deep
 Who now must bend to steer a wary course
 And trust her swiftness rather than her force
 Still o'er the wave with foaming Prow she flies
 And steady Breezes from the Southern Skies
 High in the Air the Starry streamer plays
 And every sail its various tribute pays
 To gain the Land she bore the mighty blast
 And now the wishd for Cape appeard at last—
 But the vexd foe pursued us on our way
 100 Like a starvd [Lion] eager for his prey
 A Frigate she and not unknown to fame
 For soon we learnt her errand and her name
 Iris it was, (but Hancock once she bore)
 Framd and completed on New Albions shore
 (By Manly lost)—the swiftest of the train
 That fly with wings of Canvas oer the Main,—
 Toward the Land by favouring breezes led
 As Iris followd still Aurora fled
 [So fierce Pelides eager to destroy]
 110 [Pursued proud Hector to the Walls of Troy]
 Swift oer the waves indignant they pursue
 As Swiftly from her fangs Aurora flew
 At length the Cape Aurora gained once more
 And here we strove to run the Ship on Shore
 [Stern fate denyd the barren shore to gain]
 [Denial sad, and source of future pain]

87. on the foe *alt. from* from the Decks.
 94. And steady *alt. from* The [increasing *cancelled after* Breezes]: *in 1781* Breezes from the Southern *becomes* winds from equinoctial.
 99. still *cancelled after* But; vexd *inserted after* the.
 100. starvd [Lion] eager for *alt. from* starvd wolf to sieze his humbling, *alt. from* grim Lion to devour.
 102. *In 1781* errand *becomes* nation.
 103. once *cancelled before* Hancock.
 110. *In 1781* Pursued proud Hector to *becomes* Chac'd the proud trojan round.
 113. *In 1781* At length the Cape Aurora *becomes* At last the cape with joy.
 114. And here *alt. from* in vain; *alt. from* And then; on S *cancelled after* run.
 115. shore *alt. from* beach *uncancelled*.

For then the inspiring breezes ceasd to blow
 Calm were the heavens above the Seas below
 (The Cape expelld the breezes from our Sails
 120 Tho' farther off a lively breeze prevails)
 The Ship unable to pursue her way
 Tumbling about at her own Guidance lay
 But Iris kept still farther off to Sea
 And lay with dreadful aspect on our Lee
 Then up she luffd and fird the deadly shot
 Bearing destruction, terror and what not—
 Vexd at our fate, we prim'd a Piece and then
 Returnd the Shot to show her we were Men
 At length dull Night her dusky Pinions spread
 130 And every hope to shun the foe was fled
 All dead becalmed and helpless as we lay
 The Ebbing current forc'd us off to Sea
 While vengeful Iris thirsting for our blood
 Flashd her red lightnings oer the trembling flood
 At every flash a storm of ruin came

117. For *alt. from* Twas.
 118. *In 1781 becomes* Lost were they all and calm the seas below.
 119. expelld *alt. from* had shovd, *alt. from* had reft: *in 1781 expelld becomes* dispell'd.
 120. a lively [*alt. from* former] *alt. from* the self same.
 121. *In 1781 The becomes* Our.
 125. Then up she luffd *alt. from* Close up she came: *in 1781 fird the deadly shot becomes* blaz'd her entrails dire.
 126. *In 1781 and what not becomes* terror, death, and fire.
 127. prim'd *alt. from* chargd: *in 1781 fate becomes* doom.
 128. her *alt. from* them.
 129. At length dull *alt. from* Now sable: *in 1781 At length dull Night becomes* Dull
 night had now.
 130. *In 1781 shun becomes* 'scape.
 After 130. 1781 (99-106) adds

Close to thy cape, Henlopen, though we press'd,
 We could not gain thy desert dreary breast;
 Tho' ruin'd pines beshroud thy barren shore,
 With mounds of sand half hid or cover'd o'er;
 Tho' howling winds disturb thy summit bare,
 Yet every hope and ev'ry wish was there.—
 In vain we sought to gain the joyless strand,
 Fate stood between and barr'd us from the land.

131. Written and cancelled as line 132; the notation All dead &c below line 130 indicates transposition, as in 1781 (107-08).
 133. While *alt. from* But; thirsting *alt. from* eager.
 135. a storm of *alt. from* the crashing.

And shook our Ship thro' all her labouring frame—
 Mad for Revenge our breasts with fury glow
 To wreak return of Vengeance on the foe
 Full at his hull our lifted Tubes we bore—
 140 His Hull resounding to the dreadful roar
 [Alternate fires] dispelld the Shades of Night
 But ah, not equal was the daring fight
 Our largest Guns but wings a four pound Ball
 Twelve Poundres from the foe our sides did maul,
 And while no Power to save him intervenes
 A Bullet struck our Captain of Marines
 Fierce as He was to dare the british foe
 He felt his Death and ruin in the blow
 Headlong he fell, insensate with the wound
 150 With Gore distaind and heart blood streaming round
 Now frequent cries throughout our decks resound
 And every Bullet brought some different wound—
 [His louder thunders forc'd our Pride to bend]
 [In such a case could we with hell contend?]
 Twixt Wind and Water one assailed the side
 Thro' this aperture rushd the briny tide
 What could we do—to fight the foe was vain
 Twas better sure to yield than all be slain
 [Twas then Aurora trembled for her crew]
 160 [And bade thy shores, O Delaware adieu]
 [And must she yield to yon destructive ball]
 [And must thy colours dear Columbia fall]

136. *In 1781 becomes* 'Till now Aurora shook thro' all her frame.

138. *return alt. from a storm.*

139. *our alt. from the: in 1781 lifted Tubes we bore becomes* pointed guns we raise.

140. *In 1781 resounding to the dreadful roar becomes* resounded as the cannon blazed.

After 140. 1781 (17-18) adds

Through his fortopsail one a passage tore,
 His sides re-echo'd to the dreadful roar;

141. *Alternate [alt. to One lasting; followed by eager hungry uncancelled] flames*
 [alt. to Blazes]; alternate fires written beneath and cancelled.

142. *In 1781 ah, not equal becomes* how unequal.

143. *In 1781 becomes* Our stoutest guns threw but a six-pound ball.

147. *In 1781 as He was to dare the british becomes* though he bid defiance to the.

149. *In 1781 insensate becomes* distracted.

150. *In 1781 With Gore distaind and becomes* The deck bestain'd with.

151. *In 1781 our decks becomes* the ship.

152. *In 1781 some becomes* a.

162. *In 1781 becomes* And must our colours to these ruffians fall?

*Conquerd, not waiting for another blow
 We struck at once and yielded to the foe
 Convoy'd to York, Dame Iris lodgd us there
 Safe in the Dens of Hunger and despair
 There Ships are Prisons void of Masts or Sails
 In which describing even description fails
 But what on Captives British rage can do
 170 Another canto, friends, shall let you know*

[CANTO II. THE PRISON-SHIP]

The Various horrors of these Hullks to tell
 Those Prison Ships where Pain and sorrow dwell
 [Where Death in tenfold horror holds his reign]
 [And injurd Ghosts in Reasons Ear complain]
 This be my task—Ungenerous Britons you
 Conspire to murder those you cant subdue—
 Why else no art of cruelty untryd
 Such heavy Vengeance with such hellish Pride?—
 Death has no charms (His kingdoms barren ly,
 180 A desart Country with a cloudy Sky)—
 Death has no charms—except in british Eyes—
 See how they court the bleeding Sacrifice,
 See how they pant to stain the world with Gore
 And Millions Murdered still would murder more—
 This selfish race, for fame and Empire strive
 To ruin, waste and slaughter all alive
 As if the Power that formd us did condemn

163. Conquerd, not waiting *alt. from* So not delaying.
 167. void of *alt. from* without.
 172. Prison Ships *alt. from* dark retreats.
 173. *In 1781* horror *becomes* vengeance.
 179. Empires *alt. from* kingdoms, *alt. from* Empires.
 180. with *alt. from* and: *in 1781* with *becomes* and.
 182. bleeding *alt. from* dismal.
 185. selfish race *alt. from* race accurst: *in 1781* for fame and Empire strive *becomes from* all the world disjoined.
 186. *In 1781 becomes* Eternal discord sow among mankind.
 After 186. *1781 (161-62) adds*
 Aim to extend their empire o'er the ball,
 Subject, destroy, absorb and conquer all;
 187. us *alt. from* them.

All other Nations to be slaves to them
 A generous Nation is their hourly cry
 190 But truth revolts against the daring lie
 Compassion flees them, an unwelcome guest
 And Pity never warmd a British breast
 No Pity can a Britons Bosom Share
 For he that made them never placed it there
 A brutish Courage is there only Pride
 For one small hour of fame have thousands dyd—
 All Nations they abhor, detest, decry
 But their [dear race] they blazon to the Sky
 As if the Sun for Britons [only] shown
 200 Or all Mankind was made for them alone—
 Weak as I am I'll try my strength to day
 And my best arrows at these hell-hounds play
 [To laugh at Death is glorious in their Eyes]
 [And life that wise men value they despise]
 [To future years their murdrous deeds prolong]
 [And hang them up to infamy in Song.]
Clio assist my keenest arms I yield
Clio assist to stretch them on the field
 So much I've suffer'd from the race I hate

189. *In 1781 hourly becomes endless. Lines 189-90 were composed (and the first line cancelled) following line 298; their present position, as in 1781 (165-66), is indicated by the notation A generous nation &c below line 188.*

191. *In 1781 flees becomes shuns.*

192. *In 1781 becomes They to humanity are foes protest.*

193. *can alt. from does; Bosom alt. from feelings: in 1781 becomes In their bosoms pity claims no share.*

194. *he that made them alt. from God in anger: in 1781 he that made them becomes God in anger.*

195. *Pride alt. from boast: in 1781 brutish becomes brutal, only becomes ruling.*

197. *abhor alt. from despise.*

198. *own vile [alt. to modern] race underscored; alt. to own cancelled Nation: in 1781 they blazon becomes emblazon.*

199. *only cancelled before shown: in 1781 Britons becomes Britain.*

200. *Or alt. from And: in 1781 them becomes her.*

201. *I'll try my strength to day alt. from I gird my armour on.*

203. *To laugh at alt. from The thought of.*

204. *And life that alt. from And what all.*

205. *In 1781 murdrous becomes bloody.*

208. *Alt. from To stretch these monsters on their gory field.*

209. *First written and cancelled above line 207; rewritten in present position. In 1781 I've becomes I.*

210 So near they shovd me to the brink of Fate
 When six long weeks in their vile hullks I lay
 Barr'd down at night—and fainting all the day
 With the fierce fervours of the Solar beam
 Cool'd by no breeze on Hudson's mountain stream
 That not unsung these horrid Deeds shall fall
 To dark Oblivion that would cover all
 Not unrevenged shall all the woes that passd
 Be swallowd up inglorious as the last—
 The dreadful secrets of these Prison Caves

220 Half sunk half floating on fair Hudsons waves
 The Muse shall tell: nor shall her Voice be vain
 Mankind must shrink with Horror at the strain
 Astonishd Nature yield a pensive sigh
 And blame the tardy Vengeance of the Sky—
 [See with what Pain your murderd Victim dies]
 [With not a friend to close his dying eyes]
 [He once perhaps with aspect bold & gay]
 [Drove the Vile Briton o'er the watry way]
 [Or close arrangd unconscious of a fear]

230 [Hurl'd the loud thunder from his Privateer]
 [Thus do our Warriors, thus our heroes fall]
 [Imprisond here, quick ruin meets them all]

210. shovd me to the brink of Fate *alt. from* plunged me to Deaths brazen Gate.

211. their *alt. from* there: *in 1781* six *becomes* seven, vile *becomes* damn'd.

212. *In 1781* all *becomes* through.

213. *In 1781* With *becomes* In.

215. Deeds *alt. from* Scenes; fall *alt. from* pass.

216. dark *alt. from* black: *in 1781* dark *becomes* black.

217. *In 1781* that passd *becomes* we bore.

218. *In 1781* the last *becomes* before.

219. *In 1781* fair *becomes* my.

223. *In 1781 becomes* To such a race the rights of men deny.

225. *In 1781* Pain your murderd *becomes* pangs yon' wasted.

226. *In 1781* dying *becomes* languid.

227. *In 1781 becomes* He late, perhaps too eager for the fray.

228. *In 1781* Drove *becomes* Chas'd.

229. Or *alt. from* And; unconscious of a *alt. from* with heart devoid of: *in 1781* unconscious of a fear *becomes* a stranger to all fear.

230. Hurl'd *alt. from* fird.

After 232. 1781 (205-17) adds

Or sent afar to Britain's barbarous shore,
 There die neglected and return no more.—
 Ah, when shall quiet to my soul return,

In slumbers deep I hear the farewell Sigh
 Their Plaintive Ghosts with feeble accents cry,
 At distance far with sickly aspect move
 And beg for Vengeance at the throne of Jove

[CANTO III. THE PRISON SHIP

Continued]

No Masts nor Sails these sickly hulks adorn
 Dismal [to view], neglected and forlorn—
 [Here nightly ills oppress the crowded throng]
 240 [Dull were our slumbers & our nights were long]
 [From morn to night along the decks we lay]
 [Scorch'd into Fevers by the solar ray]
 No friendly awning cast a welcome shade
 Oft was it promisd but [was never made]
 [[No] favour could these Sons of Death bestow]
 [But endless curses and unceasing woe]

And anguish in this bosom cease to burn;—
 What frequent deaths in midnight vision rise!
 (Once real) now all ghastly to my eyes,
 Youths there expiring for their country lay,
 And burnt by fevers breath'd their souls away;
 Where, now so cruel to deny a grave,
 They plung'd them downward in the parting wave;
 The parting wave received them to its breast;
 And Hudson's sandy bed is now their place of rest:

233. farewell *alt. from* parting.234. *In 1781* Their *becomes* Pale.235. before *cancelled before* At.236. beg *alt. from* call.237. sickly *alt. from* ragged.238. their view *underscored, alt. to* to see; neglected *alt. from* dejected.239. *In 1781* crowded *becomes* imprison'd.241. *In 1781* along *becomes* throughout.After 241. *1781 (227-30) adds*

Wretched and poor, insulted and distrest,
 The eye dejected, and the heart depress'd;
 Stript of our all—affronted and derided,
 For cruel Iris had our cloaths divided—.

244. was never made *underscored, alt. to* it ne'er was made *uncancelled: in 1781* Oft
becomes Once.246. *In 1781* curses and unceasing *becomes* cursing—ever-during.

[Immortal hatred doth their breasts engage]
 [And their Lost Empire fires their Souls with rage!]
 Two Hullks on Hudsons placid Bosom ly
 250 Two farther South [affright the gazing eye]
 There the black Scorpion at her Mooring rides
 There Strombolo swings yielding to the tides
 Here hullking Jersey fills a larger Space
 And Hunter to all Hospitals disgrace
 Thou Scorpion fatal to the imprison'd throng
 Dire theme of Horror and Plutonian Song
 Requirest my lay—thy sultry decks I know
 And all the Evils that are found below—
 Must Nature shudder at this Scene of fears
 260 And must I tell what must provoke thy tears.
 American! inactive rest no more
 But drive these murdering Britons from your Shore
 And you that o'er the troubled Ocean go
 Strike not your colours to this hellish foe
 Better the greedy wave should swallow all
 Better to meet the Death conducting Ball,
 Better to sleep on Oceans ouzy bed

247. doth *alt. from* must.

248. fires *alt. from* fills: *in 1781* fires *becomes* arms.

After 248. *Four lines cancelled:*

High on the stern Britannia's colours flew
 A tatterd [*alt. from* ragged] Ensign and [*alt. from* for] a tatterd [*alt. from* ragged] crew
 Two hullks in Hudson terrify the stream
 Two farther eastward more than equall'd them
 249. ly *alt. from* lay: *in 1781* placid *becomes* rugged.
 250. down *cancelled after* farther; South *alt. from* Southward; toward the oozy Bay
alt. to the blue waves terrify *uncancelled*; affright the gazing Eye *uncancelled and*
written beneath.
 252. swings yielding *alt. from* subservient: *in 1781* Strombolo swings *becomes* swings
 Strombolo.
 255. *In 1781* imprison'd *becomes* crowded.
 257. —there pining *cancelled after* lay.
 258. *In 1781* that are found *becomes* of thy holds.
 260. thy *alt. from* your.
 262. murdering Britons *alt. from* worse than monsters: *in 1781* these murdering *becomes*
 those murderous.
 264. *In 1781* colours *becomes* standards.
 266. Death conducting *alt. from* dire destructive.
 267. ouzy *alt. from* oozy.

At once destroyd and numberd with the dead
 Than thus to perish in this dismal Den

270 Starvd and insulted by the worst of Men—
 Some cruel Ruffian o'er these Hullks presides
 Tryon to such the imprisond host confides
 Some wretch who banish'd from the navy crew
 In blood grown old, would here his trade renew
Some vile ill natur'd, growling, snarling Dog
Renowned for swearing and for Drinking Grog
 Whose forked tongue when on his charge let loose
 Utters Reproaches scandal and abuse
 Gives all to Hell who dare his King disown

280 And swears the world was made for George alone—
 Such are the men who rule the captives there
 A menial Tribe their brutal feelings share
 Stewards and Mates whom famd Britannia bore
 Cut from the Gallows on their native shore
 O may I never feel the poignant pain
 To live subjected to such Brutes again
 Their Ghastly Looks, and Vengeance-beaming eyes
 Still to my View [in] all their fury rise
 O may I ne'er review their dire abodes

290 These [piles for Slaughter] floating on the floods
 Nature recoils and Trembles (all in pain[])
 To live subjected to such Brutes again—
 [American on thy own fields expire]
 [Or fall a victim to the hostile fire]

272. Tryon alt. from Brita[in?]; such alt. from them: in 1781 Tryon becomes Clinton.

274. blood alt. from Death; would alt. from doth: in 1781 In blood grown old becomes
 Grown old in blood.

275. frown[ning?] cancelled before growling.

277. In 1781 forked becomes venom'd.

285. In 1781 O becomes Heavens!

286. Brutes alt. from imps.

287. Their Ghastly alt. from Their Horrid: in 1781 beaming becomes bearing.

288. Fierce to my View in dreadful colours r[ise?] cancelled; Fierce cancelled after
 still; in alt. to with cancelled: in 1781 fury becomes horrors.

290. piles for Slaughter written above Murdrous Prisons uncancelled.

291. In 1781 and Trembles (all in pain) becomes in agonies of woe.

292. In 1781 becomes To live subjected to such Brutes again.

293. expire alt. from slain.

294. Alt. from Or chace these monsters from the embattled Plain uncancelled: in 1781
 Or fall a becomes A glorious.

[From thy black ship the winged Vengeance throw]
 [But be no captive to this tyrant foe]
 [Yield not alive to stain their greedy Jaws]
 [First faint first perish in thy countrys cause]
 First may I meet the winged wastefull Ball
 300 And split to atoms for fair freedom fall
 Such scenes are acted in these gloomy cells
 Such horror in the doleful mansions dwells
 [So many ills these loathsome hullks defame]
 [That to be here and suffer is the same]
 Death has its woes and sickness claims its share
 But both are trifles if you die not there
 When to the Ocean dives the Evening Sun
 And the Tories fire their Evening gun
 A Scene of Terror rises to the View
 310 Such as the boldest painter never drew
 Three hundred Captives banishd from the Light
 Below the Decks in Torment spend the Night
 [Some for a bed their humble cloathing Join]
 [And some on chests & some on floors recline]
 Shut from the blessings of the cooling air
 Pensive they ly, all anguish and Despair
 Meagre and sad and scorchd with heat below
 They look like Ghosts ere Death has made them so

295. *In 1781 becomes* In thy own ship expect the deadly blow.
 297. alive *alt. from* thy corpse.
 298. faint *alt. from* fail.
 299. Would I prefer *alt. from* First may I; *whole line cancelled: in 1781 First may I becomes* Prefer to.
 300. *Whole line cancelled: in 1781 split becomes* cut, fair *becomes* lov'd. *Freneau apparently experienced difficulty with lines 297-300; he cancelled the following attempts:*
 And [*alt. to but*] now delivered [*alt. to Exchangd, alt. to free, alt. to freed*]
 from their bloody Jaws [*alt. to from* their fangs]
 I'd freely perish in my countrys cause
 I meet with joy the winged wastefull Ball
 Ere I [*alt. to If I*] again [*alt. to once more*] would feel their bloody Jaws.
 301. Scenes are acted in these gloomy *alt. from* Horror in these dismal dreary.
 302. *Alt. from* In the dark Mansion of this Scorpion dwells *uncancelled*.
 306. trifles *alt. from* nothing.
 308. Then from the port *cancelled after* And.
 309. *In 1781 Terror becomes* horror.
 311. *In 1781 Captives becomes* prisoners.
 313. humble *alt. from* tatterd: *in 1781 humble becomes* tatter'd.

How should they thrive where Heat and hunger join
 320 Thus to debase the human form Divine?
 [Where cruel thirst the parching throat invades]
 [Dries up the man & fits him for the shades]
 No Waters laded from the bubbling Spring
 To these dire Ships these generous Britons bring
 Of thro the Night in vain their captives ask
 One drop of water from the stinking cask
 [No drop is grantd to the earnest prayer]
 [To Dives in these regions of despair]
 The loathsome cask a fatal Dose contains
 330 Its Poison bearing thro the altered Veins
 [Hence Fevers rage where health was seen before]
 [And the lank veins abound with blood no more]
 O how they long to taste the woodland Stream
 For there they Pine in frantic feverish Dream
 [To springs and brooks with dreary steps they go]
 [And seem to hear the gushing waters flow]
 [Along the] purling wave they think they ly
 Quaff the sweet stream and then contented die
 Then start from Dreams that fright the restless Mind
 340 And still new Horrors in their Prison find—
 Dull flow the hours till from the sky display'd
 Sweet Morn dispells the horrors of the shade—
 But what to them is mornings cheerful Ray,
 Dull and distressful as the close of Day?
 At distance far appears the Dewy Green
 And leafy Trees on distant hills are seen

319. *In 1781* thrive becomes bloom.

After 322. A Gloomy Guard [alt. to where] at every Portal waits uncancelled.

323-24. Cancelled: retained in 1781 (299-300).

328. *In 1781* these becomes the.

329. cask a fatal Dose contains alt. from draught that now corrupt & dead grown.

331. Hence alt. from pale.

333. *In 1781* Stream becomes streams.

334. *In 1781* Dream becomes dreams.

335. springs alt. from founts: *in 1781* dreary becomes weary.

337. Among the cancelled: retained in 1781 (303).

338. *In 1781* then becomes all.

340. *In 1781* Horrors becomes torments.

341. from the sky display'd alt. from morning gilds the sky.

343. *In 1781* mornings cheerful becomes morn's delightful.

344. *In 1781* Dull becomes Sad.

346. leafy alt. from Green: *in 1781* distant hills becomes mountain tops.

But they no Groves nor grassy Grottoes tread
 Marked for a longer Journey to the dead
 At Every Hatch a Group of Sentries stands
 350 Cull'd from the Scottish or the Hessian bands
 As Tigers fierce for human blood they thirst
 Rejoice in slaughter as in slaughter nurst
 [Of restless, cruel, angry, Iron soul]
 [Take these my friends as Samples of the whole]
 Black as the Clouds that shade St. Kilda's shore
 Wild as the winds that round her mountains roar
 Their hearts with malice to our country swell
 Because in former days we used them well—
 Ingratitude! No curse like thee is found
 360 Throughout this jarring world's expanded round
Some other Vice may bid your feelings bleed
But this will burst and break the heart indeed.
 But such a host of various ills are found
 So many evils in these hullks abound
 That on them all a Poem to prolong
 Would endless make the horrors of my Song
 To what shall I their ruin'd bread compare
 Baked for old Cesars Armies you would swear
 So great its age that hard & flinty grown
 370 You ask for Bread and they present a Stone,
 Why should I tell what putrid oil they deal
 Why the dread horrors of a scanty meal
 The Rotten pork, the lumpy damagd flour
 Soaked in Salt Water and with age grown sour

347. *In 1781* Grottoes becomes mountains.
 348. longer alt. from tedious.
 349. Group of Sentries alt. from sullen Sentry.
 350. *In 1781* Hessian becomes English.
 352. Alt. from Blood is their joy & Murder but their play.
 353. cruel, angry alt. from fierce, destructive.
 355. Clouds alt. from Storms.
 356. Wild alt. from Fier[ce]; round alt. from on.
 364. abound alt. from are found.
 After 366. If the black regions of the ruind Dead [alt. to fiends] below *cancelled*.
 367. ruin'd alt. from rotten.
 368. old Cesars alt. from some Roman.
 372. Why alt. from With all; dread added before horrors.
 373. The Rotten pork alt. from In one sad meal.

Say must I tell how the famish'd Messes join
 And on these fat delicious Dainties dine
 For once a day we taste the Royal Meat
 Once and but once at the Kings charges eat
 [Such hosts he feeds upon Columbia's shore]

380 [How can the stingy heartless wretch do more?] If from your Purse the Gold has run to waste
 No breakfast nor no supper would you taste—
 [Then ere you sail your Purse wt Gold supply]
 [For on the royal Bounty you would die]
 The vigorous Spirit that the Islands yield
 Was by these petty Tyrants here withheld
 While yet they deignd the healthy Juice to lade
 The putrid water felt its powerful aid
 But when denyd (for Tryon's private Gain)
 390 Then Fevers rag'd and revel'd thro' our Vein
 Throughout my frame I felt its deadly heat
 I felt my pulse with quicker motion beat
 A Ghastly paleness oer my face was spread
 Unusual Pain attackd my fainting head
 No Physic here, no Doctor to assist
 My name was enterd on the Sickman's list
 12 wretches more the self same symptoms took

375. Say must [alt. from shall] alt. from Why should; how the famish'd [alt. from hungry] Messes alt. from that some the day they.
 376. And alt. from Once a day; dine alt. from join: in 1781 fat delicious Dainties becomes offals of creation.
 377. For alt. from But: in 1781 taste becomes touch'd.
 378. but once alt. from no more.
 379. Columbia's alt. from our injurd: in 1781 Columbia becomes our ravag'd.
 380. In 1781 stingy heartless becomes heartless, mean-soul'd.
 382. In 1781 becomes At morn nor evening look for no repast.
 385. vigorous added before Spirit; sugar [alt. to juicy] cane affords cancelled before Islands.
 386. To here with[held?] cancelled after Was.
 387. healthy alt. from powerful.
 389. the cause of cancelled after denyd: in 1781 for Tryon's private gain becomes to aggravate our pains.
 390. In 1781 Vein becomes veins.
 391. all cancelled before may; frame alt. from blo[od?].
 393. My gr head grew cancelled before A; Ghastly alt. from Deadly.
 394. attackd alt. from assaild.
 397. 12 alt. from Ten.

And soon were enterd on the Doctors book
 The glorious Hunter was our destind place
 400 The Hunter to all hospitals disgrace
 With Soldiers sent to guard us on our road
 Joyful we left the Scorpions dire abode
 Some Tears we shed for the remaining crew
 Then cursed the Hullk and from her sides we drew

[CANTO IV. THE HOSPITAL SHIP]

[And toward the Hunters black abode we came]
 [A slaughter house, yet Hospital in Name]
 [But when too near with labouring oars we plied]
 [The mate with curses drove us from the side]
 Ten thousand times he gave us to old Nick
 410 And swore as often that we were not sick
 But calm'd at length (for who can always rage
 Or always war like Bloody Britain wage)
 He pointed to the stairs that led below

398. Doctors alt. from sickmans: *in 1781* soon becomes these.
 399. *In 1781* glorious becomes loathsome.
 401. road alt. from way.
 402. Joyful alt. from With Joy.
 403. we added before shed.
 404. *In 1781* we drew becomes withdrew.
 405. toward alt. from to; written and cancelled as Now to the Hunters dark abode [alt.
 to scorching decks] we came: *in 1781* And becomes now.
 406. yet alt. from but; written and cancelled as The Mate with Curses took us to the
 same.

After 406. *1781* (391-92) adds

For none came there (to pass thro' all degrees)
 Till half consum'd and dying with disease;—

407. too near alt. from to the ship.
 409. give alt. from wishd: *in 1781* he gave us to old Nick becomes to irritate our woe.
 After 409. *1781* (396-97) adds

He wish'd us founder'd in the gulph below;
 Ten thousand times he brandish'd high his stick,

After 410. *1781* (399-400) adds

—And yet so pale—that we were thought by some,
 A freight of ghosts from death's dominions come;—

412. *In 1781* becomes Or the fierce war of endless passion wage.
 413. to alt. from out; written and cancelled as He deignd the Passage to our births to
 show: *in 1781* dire becomes damps.

To dire disease and varied shapes of woe
 Down to the Gloom we took our pensive way
 Along the Deck the dying Captives lay
 Some struck with madness, some with scurvy pain'd
 But still of putrid Fevers most complain'd
 On the hard planks these dying objects laid
 420 Here tos'd and tumbled in the dismal shade
 [Of leaky decks I heard them now complain]
 [Drownd as they were in Deluges of pain]
 Denyd the comforts of a dying Bed
 And not a pillow to support the head
 How could they else but pine and grieve & sigh
 Detest a wretched Life and wish to die—
 A Hessian Doctor, from Long Island came

419. *In 1781 planks becomes floors.*

421. *In 1781 now becomes much.*

424. *support alt. from refresh.*

After 426. 1781 (417-34) adds

Soon as I came to this detested place
 A wasted *phantom* star'd me in the face;
 "And art thou come (death heavy in his eyes)
 And art thou come to these abodes, he cries;
 Why didst thou leave the *Scorpion's* dark retreat,
 And hither come, a surer death to meet;
 Why didst thou leave thy damp infected cell,
 If *that* was purgatory, *this* is hell;
 Here wastes away *Autolycus* the brave,
 Here young *Orestes* finds an early grave;
 Here gay *Alcander*, gay, alas, no more,
 Dies, far sequester'd from his native shore;
 Ah, rest in peace, poor injur'd parted shade,
 By cruel hands too soon in death array'd;
 But happier climes where orbs unclouded shine,
 Light undisturb'd and endless peace are thine;”—
 He said and struggling in the pangs of death,
 Gave his last groan and yielded his last breath.

427. *Notation A Hessian below line 126 indicates position of lines 427-40, which are written in the manuscript after line 474. Hessian alt. from German; for our cancelled before from.*

After 428. *Notation Fair Science &c, referring to lines for which no original is found in the manuscript, but which appear in 1781 (437-46) as*

Fair science never call'd the wretch her *son*,
 And art disdain'd the stupid man to own:—
 Can you admire why science was so coy,
 Or art refus'd his genius to employ?—
 On rocky hills can *Eden's* blossoms grow,

Not great his skill, nor greater much his fame
 He on his charge the curing work begun
 430 With Antimonial Mixtures by the Tun
 Ten Minutes was the time he deign'd to stay
 The time of grace allotted once a day
 He drench'd us well with bitter draughts I know
 Peruvian Barks and Tartar Cremor, too
 On those refusing he bestowed a Kick
 Or laid them sprawling with his walking stick
 Hence came our Deaths, by his untoward skill
 And by Vending one anothers purge or Pill
 By frequent Blows we from his staff endur'd
 440 He kill'd at least as many as he cur'd—

Do *Trees of God* in barren desarts grow,
 Are loaded vines to *Ætna's* summit known;
 Or swells the *peach* beneath the frozen Zone?—
 Yet still he puts his genius to the rack,
 And as you may suppose, became a *quack*.

429. curing *alt. from* healing.
 432. The time of grace *alt. from* This was the time, *alt. from* Ten Minutes.
 434. *In 1781* Tartar Cremor *becomes* Cremor-Tartar.
 435. On those refusing *alt. from* To those that could.
 436. *In 1781* laid them sprawling *becomes* meanac'd vengeance.
 437. by *added before* his; untoward *alt. from* unexperienced: *in 1781* untoward *becomes* defective.
 438. *In 1781* Vending *becomes* sending.
 439. By *alt. from* The: *in 1781* staff *becomes* cane.
 440. At least *cancelled before* and *added after* he kill'd.
 After 440. *1781* (459-80) adds

Some did not seem obedient to his will,
 And swore he mingled poison with his pill;—
 But I acquit him by a fair confession,
 He was no Englishman, he was a Hessian;—
 Although a dunce he had some sense of sin,
 Or else the Lord knows here we now had been;
 Doubtless in that far country went to range,
 Where never prisoner meets with an exchange;—
 Then had we all been banish'd out of time,
 Nor I return'd to plague the world with rhyme!
 Our doctor had a master, chief physician,
 To all the hospitals in their possession;
 Once and but once by some strange fortune led,
 He came to see the dying and the dead;
 He came—but anger so deform'd his eye,
 And such a faulchion glitter'd on his thigh;
 And such a gloom his visage darkened o'er,

O'er this poor Vessel and her sickly band
 A dismal Ruffian held the chief command
 Tho unprovok'd an angry face he wore
 We stood astonish'd at the Oaths he swore
 He wish'd us banish'd from the public Light
 Stark dead and bury'd in eternal Night
 That were he King no mercy would he show
 But drive all Rebels to the world below,
 That if we scoundrels did not scrub the Decks
 450 His staff would break our damned rebel Necks
 He swore besides, (not waiting for his turn)
 That if the ship was burnt we too would burn
 [For then by chance the chimney Pipe took fire]
 [And that she was not burnt I much admire]
 If, where he stood a loathsome carcase lay
 Not alter'd was the language of the Day,
 He thought us Dogs and would have us'd us so

And two such pistols in his hands he bore;—
 That by the Gods—with such a load of steel,
 He came, we thought to murder, not to heal;
 Had he so dar'd—but fate with-held his hand,—
 He came—blasphem'd—and turn'd again to land.

441. In 1781 O'er becomes From, band becomes crew.

442. held alt. from had: in 1781 (483-86) adds

After 442. 1781 (483-86) adds

Captain, esquire, commander too in chief,
And hence he gain'd his bread and hence his beef;—
But, sir, you might have searcht creation round,
'Ere such another devil could be found;

444. We stood astonish'd alt. from And Devils trembled.

After 444. 1781 (489-90) adds

He swore—till every mortal stood aghast,
 And thought him Satan in a brimstone blast;

446. Stark dead and alt. from He wish'd us: in 1781 Stark dead and becomes he wished us.

450. In 1781 rebel becomes rebellious.

453. In 1781 becomes And meant it so—this monster I engage.

454. *Alternate line, written below and uncancelled, And if she was not burnt, it was not our Desire: in 1781 becomes Had lost his post to gratify his rage.*

After 454. *Two lines cancelled:*

That not a scoundrel whould remain alive
 No, not one Rebel of us all survive

457. In 1781 thought becomes call'd.

But Vengeance check'd the meditated blow
 The vengeance frōm our injur'd country due

460 To him and all the base ungenerous crew
 [Each day at least three Carcasses we bore]
 [And scratchd some Graves along the sandy shore]
 By feeble hands the shallow Graves were made
 No stone memorial oer the Corpses laid,
 In barren Sands, and far from home they ly
 No friend to shed a Tear when passing by
 Oer the slight Graves insulting Britons tread
 Spurn at the sand and curse the Rebel dead—
 When to your Arms these fatal Islands fall

470 For soon or late they must be conquerd all
 Americans!—To Rites sepulchral just
 Tread lightly on your hapless offsprings dust
 And oer their Graves, if Graves can there be found
 Place the Green Turf and plant the myrtle round
 Americans, a just Resentment show
 How long shall Britain dare to use us so
 [While the warm blood shall swell the glowing vein]
 [Resentment still must in my bosom reign]
 [Can I forget [the] Vengeful Britons ire]

480 [Our fields in Ruin and our Domes on fire]
 [No Age no Sex from Lust and Murder free]

458. future *cancelled* before Vengeance; check'd alt. from bade him; blow *cancelled* before meditated.

460. *In 1781* ungenerous becomes unmanly.

461. Each day at break these Corpses sent on shore alt. to Here corpses from the Hullk we bore *uncancelled*.

462. some alt. from a: *in 1781* some becomes them.

463. *In 1781* Graves becomes tombs.

466. when passing by alt. from when walking by *uncancelled*, alt. from that travels by.

469. When alt. from If; Arms alt. from Power.

470. For soon or late alt. from As first as last; they must be conquerd alt. from Fate has decreed them: *in 1781* soon or late becomes first or last.

472. hapless alt. from deceasd: *in 1781* becomes With gentle footstep press this kindred dust.

473. *In 1781* Graves twice becomes tombs.

474. Place alt. from Lay; plant the myrtle round alt. from sacred hold the ground.

476. *In 1781* becomes And let your mind with indignation glow.

477. warm alt. from red; warm *cancelled* after glowing.

478. *In 1781* becomes Let fierce resentment in your bosoms reign.

479. the *cancelled* before Vengeful: *in 1781* I becomes you.

480. *In 1781* our twice becomes your.

[And black as Night the Hell born Refugee]
 [[Must York] forever see your Lives expire]
 [In Ships, in Prisons and in dungeons dire]
 How long shall foes that trading city keep
 Placd like old Tyre for Commerce on the deep
 Rouse from your Sleep and crush the thievish Band
 Defeat destroy and sweep them from the Land
 Allyd like you, what madness to despair

490 Destroy the Traitors while they linger there—
Weak and Divided, to your arms they yield
They dare not venture to the open field,—
See to your Ports the British navy flee
And France remains the Mistress of the Sea
See all the Nations of the world combine
And full resolv'd to humble britain join
See Washington bright Freedoms flag display
Your Guardian God conducts you on your way
Immortal Honor to past deeds is due
 500 *Recall those actions and aspire to new—*
 See Britain falls—the fates to ruin Bring
 Her Lords, her chiefs, her monster of a King.

482. And black as Night *alt. from* The Britons [rage?].

483. *First two words illegible.*

485. foes *alt. from* they.

486. on *alt. from* near.

490. *In 1781* Traitors *becomes* ruffians.

After 490. 1781 (545-54) adds

There Tryon sits, a monster all complete,
 See Clinton there with vile Knyphausen meet;
 And every wretch whom *virtue* should detest,
There finds a home—and *Arnold* with the rest;—
 Ah! monsters, lost to every sense of shame,
 Unjust supporters of a tyrant's claim;
 Foes to the rights of freedom and of men,
 Stain'd with the blood of thousands you have slain;
 To the just doom the righteous skies decree,
 We leave you toiling still in cruelty;

494. remain *alt. from* remains.

497. No more *cancelled before* See.

499. past *alt. from* your; is *alt. from* are.

500. those *alt. from* brave.

501. *In 1781 becomes* The years approach that shall to ruin bring.

502. *In 1781 her three times becomes* your.

*Mobs have the sway—his dignity is flown
And angry Spectres hover o'er his Throne
The fate of war shall crown his arms with shame
And every Age shall execrate his Name*

505. This bloody war *cancelled above* The fate of war: *in 1781* The fate of war shall becomes Whose boldest deeds but.

506. *Alt. from* And Tyrants tremble when they hear his name; every Age *written and uncancelled beneath* future times: *in 1781* every Age becomes vice itself.

THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS

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New Members

With the addition of the two new members whose names are listed below, the membership of the Associated Friends stands at 380.

George W. Higgins, '39

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NOTES FROM THE LIBRARY

A WHITMAN LETTER

A FEW months ago the Reverend John H. S. Putnam of the Class of 1913 presented to the Rutgers Library a manuscript letter written by Walt Whitman in Washington, D.C., to Peter Eckler of New York. It is of interest for the light it throws upon the printing of the poet's Civil War volume, *Drum-Taps*. The letter follows:

Washington
May 2 1865.

Mr. Eckler:

Dear Sir:

I enclose \$20 in further liquidation. I wish you would send me a copy of each of the printed sheets, by mail—as I suppose Alvord has printed them.

Before I left New York I paid Bradstreet \$20 in advance for binding the first 100.

I rec'd the copy right & receipt. I thank you for your kindness in getting the copy right.

Walt Whitman

Although the communication does not mention *Drum-Taps*, it undoubtedly refers to that small book, which came out in the early summer of 1865 and was Whitman's sole publication of that immediate period. One gathers that Eckler, himself a printer and, as Whitman had recently been, a resident of Brooklyn, assumed responsibility for getting the book printed (at Whitman's expense) and entrusted the work to Coridon A. Alvord, a well known printer of the time, whose

shop was at 15 Vandewater Street, New York. What the total cost of printing *Drum-Taps* was we do not know, because we have no information concerning the previous payments indicated in the letter by the phrase "in further liquidation," but we do know that on the next day Whitman wrote again to Eckler enclosing \$14.85 as "payment in full." (See *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, December, 1938, p. 6, note.)

The Bradstreet who received \$20 for binding the first hundred copies must have been the proprietor of the Bradstreet agency, which for years ran a bindery at 247 Broadway. But it would seem that he did not bind all the copies of the book, for in the letter of May 3rd, already mentioned, Whitman instructed Eckler to deliver some unspecified sheets to Abraham Simpson at 8 Spruce Street, New York, who was likewise a printer and who presumably bound further copies of the volume.

Just why four printing and binding concerns were required in the publishing of a book of only seventy-two pages would not be easy to explain, but that such was the case seems to be established by the evidence of the recently acquired letter.¹

ORAL SUMNER COAD

¹ I am indebted to Miss Dorothy C. Barck and Mr. Oscar Wegelin, both of the New-York Historical Society staff, for information concerning the printers and binders herein discussed.

THE SPIRIT OF THE FAIR

SHORTLY after the outbreak of the Civil War, in order to give form and direction to the efforts of the millions of women and other non-combatants who were working to furnish the Northern armies with medical supplies, the United States Sanitary Commission was organized. One of the means which the Commission employed to raise funds was to hold "Sanitary Fairs," as they were called, in the large cities. One of the greatest of these undertakings was the Metropolitan Fair, held in New York from April 4 to 23, 1864. In addition to the money made from the various exhibits, the committee in charge raised over \$2,000 by the sale of a daily literary periodical entitled *The Spirit of the Fair*, which sold for ten cents a copy. Two complete files of this magazine are in the Library.

The Spirit of the Fair is noteworthy for its truly literary quality, and for the fact that every contribution was "original." People of that time evidently could not believe their eyes when they found themselves paying so little for articles by the most notable men and women of letters of the day, for in the fifth number we find a special discussion of "Our Contributors." There the editors proclaim, "we beg distinctly to state that no matter whatever is admitted into our columns, that has ever been published before." They go on to say that all the contributions are donated as a charity, although the authors are accustomed to receiving large

sums for everything they write. Then follows a list of some twenty-five names, including Bryant, Boker, Lowell, Taylor, and Halleck. Bryant had sent "A Morceau from Metastasio" to the first number and was to donate an interesting article on "The Devotional Poetry of Dr. Watts" to the ninth. When the last number went to press the editors could truly claim, "There are few of those eminent in literature in America who have not hastened to offer through us the fruit of their culture to the cause of charity."

A few names, however, were missing, among which the most prominent were probably those of Emerson and Longfellow. Why they did not contribute to such a popular charity is hard to guess three quarters of a century later. It is interesting, however, to find that on April 9, 1864, when the Fair was just half over, the newly established New York *Round Table*, "A Weekly Record of the Notable, the Useful and the Tasteful," did publish poems over the initials of these men, and two other well-known poets, introduced by the following note:

The editors of the *Spirit of the Fair* having more copy on hand than they know what to do with, we are enabled to present a specimen of it this week in the shape of four poems, the paternity of which will be at once apparent to poetical readers. These poems are not to be understood as having been rejected by the editors of the *Spirit of the Fair*, but as being

superfluous for their purpose, and *embarras du [sic] richesse* by which the ROUND TABLE profits.

Then follow the four poems, each signed by the initials which are still "at once apparent to poetical readers": "The Enigma" by R. W. E[merson]., "Supper" by T. B. A[ldrich]., "The Legend of the Abbot of Wittibold" by H. W. L[ongfellow]., and eight lines without a title by R. H. S[toddard]. In order that the reader may examine some of this verse for himself, the poems by "R.W.E." and "H.W.L." are here appended:

The Enigma

Who is nature's worshiper,
Favor never gets from her.
Say, he seek her in the wood,
(One to her are Ill and Good!)
By her shade he is pursued:
She dogs, yet flies, the solitude.
Turn he to the face of Man,
White as a lily, or brown with tan,
(Caucasian or African,)
Let him catch her—if he can!
He may track her trail in the
evening's fire,
But her stealthy steps like
brands expire.
Under the sea, and aloft in the
air,—
Here and there, and everywhere,—
The goddess hides, and aye abides:
Farther would you know, and
see—
I am Her, and She is Me!

R.W.E.

The Legend of the Abbot Wittibold

In his cloister's still seclusion,
Sat the Abbot Wittibold
Poring o'er a quaint old volume,
With a heavy clasp of gold.

While he turned its pictured pages,
He was suddenly aware
Of a Shadow standing by him,
With unearthly scowl and glare!

"*Qui est tu?*" the Abbot questioned,
As he told his beads again;
"*Me Sathanas, ad Infernum!*"
Was the Spirit's sad refrain.

"*Ave Maria!*" sighed the Abbot,
Passed the demon dark and grim;
For the sacred organ sounded,
And arose the vesper hymn.

Mortal, when thy life is darkened,
In the cloisters of the heart,
Say an *Ave*, like the Abbot,
And the tempter will depart!

H. W. L.

Two scholars who have examined these poems have suggested that they are not genuine, that somebody was indulging in some sort of hoax. Perhaps the *Round Table* was playing a joke on the literary pretensions of the *Spirit of the Fair*, perhaps on poets who did not contribute to this little magazine. We should be glad to have somebody explain the puzzle.

RUDOLF KIRK

FOR BIBLIOPHILES

Bookmaking & Kindred Amenities, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Earl Schenck Miers & Richard Ellis. Rutgers Press.

Bliss Carman wrote an amusing essay some years ago which began: "Book-loving is a malady like any other kind of loving. And like all maladies it is apt to range with intermittent fury over a continent." The "fury" of this pleasant malady seems to have been at its height during the composition of the fine essays here presented for bibliophiles of every taste, if one is to judge from the enthusiasm of the eleven authors whose work is brought together within the covers of a truly beautiful book.

Richard Ellis gives a pleasant panorama of "The Book in History." Beatrice Warde, English typophile, writes on what books mean to Englishmen in these days ("A Voice from Embattled Britain"). Carl Purington Rollins, printer to Yale University, discusses the relationship of printer to customer as it affects the ideals of the craft ("Gilding the Lily"). The human frailties of authors are discussed amusingly by two commercial publishers, Bennett A. Cerf, president of Random House and creator of the Modern Library ("Publisher Bites Author"), and George Stevens, managing editor and vice-president of J. B. Lippincott Co. ("Author's Nursemaid"). And in "Academic Midwifery" Earl Schenck Miers, manager and editor of the

Rutgers University Press, indulges with friendly raillery in what he calls the "reflections of a rake among scholars."

"The Revolution in Reading," by Philip Van Doren Stern, Rutgers graduate and author of a recent best-seller, "The Drums of Morning" (published incidentally after he had written this essay) tells why the best-seller has come to stay. The contagious enthusiasm of Arthur W. Rushmore exudes like printers' ink from his reminiscences of his private press, hight romantically "The Golden Hind" ("The Fun and Fury of a Private Press"). A realistic account of daily book reviewing is given by Lewis Gannett of the New York *Herald Tribune*, who dubs himself "A Versatile Hack."

The volume is topped off with two essays by lovers of rare books. One is by Lawrence Gomme of Brentano's, who writes of certain problems and pleasures of the book-seller; the other, by Lawrence Thompson, curator of the Treasure Room of the Princeton University Library, who ranges from the clay tablets of the Assyrians to book-broadcasting and the microfilm.

Here indeed is God's plenty for typophile, bibliophile, and just the ordinary reader who has some interest in the art of bookmaking.

It should not pass without notice that the editors have paid their tribute to Frederic W. Goudy, the greatest living type designer, by using his graceful "Deepdene" type.

LESLIE A. MARCHAND

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VOLUME V

JUNE, 1942

NUMBER 2

H	K	Fif	Cours	Wind	Q	Longitude	Latitude	Dist.	Lat	Dist.	Lat	Dist.	Long	Lat	
2	3	1	6 S E	South	The Gale increased this Day we made one sail till 4 A.M. when we were obliged to have too, the ship labouring prodigiously we had to stand down the most part of the Day. there was a very great S.E. Breeze. we rolled round Under Continually the Greater part of the Day it rained very strongly.										
4	2	1													
6	2	1													
8	1	1													
10	1	1													
12	1	1													
12	2	1													
4	6	6	up S E of S S E	S E of S S E	No Observation	10:42	10:42	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	
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The JOURNAL

OF THE RUTGERS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Volume V

JUNE 1942

Number 2

THE LOG OF THE BRIG *REBECCA*

October 15 - November 7, 1779

By LEWIS LEARY

As our readers are already aware, the Rutgers Library owns a large number of manuscript and printed materials by Philip Freneau. In the course of preparing That Rascal Freneau, the first full-length biography of our Revolutionary poet, Dr. Leary searched through these papers, and he has several times paused to contribute articles on his findings to the Journal. He is at present on the English faculty of Duke University.

AFTER returning to Monmouth County on July 9, 1778, from what he was later to call his "agreeable residence" during the first two years of the American Revolution at Santa Cruz (St. Croix) in the Caribbean, Philip Freneau entered immediately into patriotic service. He first enlisted as a private in the New Jersey Militia. Assigned to service as a "scout and guard" along the shore, he helped patrol "day and night" the twenty-odd mile strip of seacoast between South Amboy and Long Branch. At the same time he found time to compose and publish caustic verses directed against the enemy which had recently laid waste so much of his Jersey homeland. Nor was this double activity of military and literary service enough. In the intervals between his tours of duty as a militiaman, Freneau went to sea, slipping through the English blockade to bring supplies from the West Indies. Twice he sailed from Shrewsbury to St. Eustacia as captain of his own vessel. Then, late in September or early in October of 1779, he sailed again, this time as supercargo, and bound

for the Canary Islands,¹ on the brig *Rebecca*, under the command of Captain Chatham.²

It was not until November 7 that the brig made port. For weeks she had run a jagged course across the Atlantic, constantly on the lookout for enemy vessels, prepared at any moment to run for her life. The voyage had not been uneventful: three times suspicious looking sails were seen on the Horizon; once the brig had bounded about in a rough sea not half a gunshot from a large and ominous craft; again she was given chase all one afternoon and evening by a vessel which was never allowed close enough for identification. Freneau kept a daily record of the *Rebecca*'s progress, taking his position carefully and comparing it with the more experienced reckonings of Captain Chatham. His log book for this voyage is now one of the most important items in the Freneau Collection of the Rutgers University Library.³

The first pages of the log are missing. The earliest extant entry is of Friday, October 15, and the brig is then in mid-Atlantic (lat. 37°57'; long. 41°10'), roughly five hundred miles west of the Azores. Freneau kept diligent record of the course which the vessel followed, of the direction of the wind, of the number of knots covered during each two hour period. At the end of each day he noted the distance covered in miles and in degrees of latitude, the present latitude by dead reckoning and by instrument observation, the meridian distance, and the longitude in which the vessel then found itself. Finally, he wrote "Remarks" for each day, sometimes scarcely a dozen words, at other times a whole crowded page.

Among the duties of the supercargo was the keeping of an "Account of Cash and Sundries Supply'd the Hands of the

¹ The details of Freneau's activities during the early Revolutionary period will be found in the present writer's *That Rascal Freneau* (Rutgers University Press, 1941), pp. 65-85. On p. 75 of that work, however, it is stated that Freneau sailed on the brig *Rebecca* for the Azores, a geographical blunder for which the writer takes full blame, but which he wishes to take this opportunity shamefacedly to correct.

² Of Captain Chatham or the date on which his vessel sailed nothing has been discovered. Freneau was in Monmouth on September 10 (see "Psal. cxxxvii, Versified," *United States Magazine*, I, 403, September, 1779); he was in Monmouth again on December 30, one of the detachment of militiamen which captured the British privateer *Britannia* (see MS Asher Holmes Papers, Monmouth County Historical Association, Box I).

³ Important, not so much in its own right, but because during the late summer of 1780 Freneau, convalescent from his experiences on the prison ships, utilized vacant pages of the log book for the composition of his poem *The British Prison-Ship*, his prose *Some Account of the Capture of the Ship Aurora*, and his poetical drama *The Spy*.

Brig *Rebecca*." Thomas Palmer, the mate, was to receive thirty-two pounds upon arrival at Teneriffe. By the time such sums as six shillings for two and a half yards of stripped ticking, one pound four shillings for a pair of trousers, six pounds for two casks of wine, and one pound ten shillings for a hundredweight of raisins had been deducted, however, he received a carefully recorded balance of only three pounds fifteen shillings and one pence. With crew members Thomas Gardner and William Edgar, there was apparently some misunderstanding: each man spent more on the voyage than was due him in wages. Each case was summarily decided: "By advance due him (as he says)," wrote Freneau, "£9:12. N.B. Captain Chatham says he was to have but £6:8 advanced"; and "He says he was to have 5 half Joes. Capt. Chatham says 4." Negro Thomas King had fourteen shillings sixpence left for pocket money of his eleven pounds four shillings wages. But John Clark had more trouble than anyone else: after he had spent practically all his money on the voyage for blankets, a jacket, a yard and a half of baize, an equal amount of course cloth, he "dyed in Teneriffe" and almost his last shilling was spent "for an Express for a Friar." Only the last member of the crew, a mysterious John —, of Carolina (probably a second negro), spent nothing on the voyage. At Teneriffe he pocketed his full wage of six pounds eight shillings. What he did in a foreign port with his hoard is a story which the log book does not tell.

The daily record of the voyage as contained in Freneau's "Remarks" is worthy of preservation as the only day by day account which survives of the poet's many sea voyages. But even as an anonymous record it is of interest through what we may read into its laconic phrases of the perils and delays which confronted the seamen who braved privateer infested waters during the American Revolution. No apology, therefore, is needed for printing it complete.⁴

Friday, October 15. This day we have had a fresh Wind from the Southward—with a Rough Sea. Fair Weather throughout.

Saturday, October 16. Fine pleasant Weather the whole of these 24 hours.

⁴ In place of Freneau's daily heading, *e.g.* "Remarks for Friday Oct^r 15th 1779," a shorter date notation is here used. In a few instances periods have been inserted to make the meaning of sentences clear. Otherwise the punctuation, the spelling, and the capitalization is that of the log book.

Sunday, October 17. The beginning of this Day was Very pleasant. About 8 A.M. we had a Shower of Rain from the N.E. which continued about half an hour. The latter part was Moderate weather but somewhat Cloudy. Saw this day large Quantities of Gulf Weed.

Tuesday, October 19. These 24 hours has been Very pleasant weather, at 6 P.M. the wind Sprung up fresh at West which Continued the rest of the Day.

Wednesday, October 20. The first part of this Day was pleasant Clear Weather. The latter part it was very thick and Hazy—we got no Observation—Hitherto I have kept my Longitude made, in Degrees of 47 miles each, which I find to be wrong, for by that reckoning I am as far east as the Island of St. Mavis, which is not the Case—neither does it agree with my Meridian Distance—I have therefore in my next day's work put my Long^{de} made, into degrees of 60 miles each which I take to be the True Method.

Thursday, October 21. The Whole of these 24 hours we had Very pleasant Weather with a good Breese at N. West. By our Observations to Day we find we have got more Northing by 40 Miles than our Dead Reckoning gives.

Friday, October 22. The whole of this Day pleasant weather with a fresh wind at WSW. At half after 11 A.M. we discovered a Sail to Windward of us, giving us Chase.

Saturday, October 23. This day at 6 P.M. we lost sight of the vessel that gave us Chase. She appear'd to have gained not much on us at Dark—at 12 Midnight we hauld our Wind to S.E. At this time Mr. Palmer our mate, thought he saw land bearing N.E. of us. Capt. Chatham thought the same. However at day light we could not see any signs of it, if it was land it must have been Pico or Fyal as we were in the Longitude of them & about 30 miles to the Southward of their lat^d by our Reckoning. The latter part of this Day the sky appear'd excessive wild and lowering. The wind blew very hard at S.W. and made a very rough sea.

Sunday, October 24. The first part of this Day we had fair Weather with a high Wind and Rough Sea. At 6 P.M. it Came to be Very Squally which continued till 8 A.M. It rained at Times excessive hard. We had no sail up but our foresail and Close: reef'd Mainsail. At 4 A.M. it fell Calm and continued till 10, we had a Very pitching Sea. At 1 A.M. we discover'd a large Vessel right ahead of us standing to the Westward. We went under her within the distance of half Gun Shot. She was a large ship under her Topsails, Mizen and Mainstay sail. I believe she did not see us, as she took no notice of us. At noon we discovered Land bearing N.E. of us distant about 12 Leagues which we take to be St. Michaels.

Monday, October 25. The greater part of this day it rained Very hard. At 3 P.M. we made land to the Southward at 10 Leagues Distant, which we took to be St. Maries—we stood directly for it. At 10 P.M. we perceived plainly that it was that Island. We stood off and on all night. In the morning it bore S.E. of us distant about 4 leagues. At 6 A.M. it fell Calm and the Sun broke out. About 10 A.M. it cleared away. At Noon we are still becalmed abreast of St. Maries.

Tuesday, October 26. The first part of this day we lay becalmed about 4 leagues to the Westward of St. Maries. This is a small Island belonging to the Spaniards. It Lies in Lat^{de} 36°: 59' North Long^{de} 23°: 38' West. It is about 3 miles long. At 4 P.M. a small breese sprung up at S.E. At 6 St. Maries Bore East of us Distant 5 Leagues—from which I take a new Departure. The latter part of this Day was fine pleasant Weather.

Wednesday, October 27. The whole of this Day was Dark Cloudy Weather with frequent Squalls, fresh wind from the Eastward. It kept us continually taking in and making sail.

Thursday, October 28. This day was Mostly Cloudy Weather with frequent Squalls. The Sky looked very wild—and the wind blew Very Heavy.

Friday, October 29. This day was altogether Cloudy and Squally—at Meridian it fell calm and we had a very heavy Shower of Rain.

Saturday, October 30. The first part of this day we had a fresh Gale and Very Squally. We hove to for Several Hours, with out head to the Northward. At half past 3 we made sail again. At 4 we hove to again. At 8 we made sail again. We had a very large head Sea.

Sunday, October 31. The Gale increased. This Day we made Small Sail till 4 A.M. when we was obliged to heave too. The Vessel labour'd prodigiously. We had to send down most of our Yards. There was a Very great Sea Running. We Rolled Gunnel under continually. The Greater part of the Day it rained Very Severely.

Monday, November 1. The beginning of this day the Gale abated. We made Sail at 2 P.M. The whole of this day we were employ'd in getting up our yards and Rigging. For some hours we had a brisk Breese at W and WNW. At noon it fell Quite Calm—a heavy Swell from the Northward.

Tuesday, November 2. The beginning of this Day was Calm with a large Swell from the Northward. At 7 P.M. a breese sprung up from the Westward—which Continued the rem^{dr} of the Day. It was a Pleasant Day throughout.

Wednesday, November 3. The first part of these 24 hours pleasant weather with small squalls. At 7 A.M. we made the Island of Madeira bearing N.E. distant about 16 Leagues. Throughout this Day we had a brisk breeze from the Northward & Westward. At Noon we lost sight of Madeira.

Thursday, November 4. This Day was pleasant, warm Weather with a gentle Wind at N. W. At 1 P.M. we lost sight of Madeira bearing N $\frac{1}{2}$ Easterly distant about 20 Leagues.

Friday, November 5. This Day was Pleasant weather somewhat hazy—with light winds and calms. At half past 3 P.M. we saw the Peak of Teneriffe bearing S.W. at S—distant about 28 Leagues. At the same Time we saw the Salvages bearing N.E. by E distant 6 or 7 Leagues. At 10 A.M. we made a Sail directly to Windward of us which appear'd to be standing down on us. We stood in for Land. He did not gain on more as there was little or no wind.

Saturday, November 6. At one P.M. this day the wind Changed to S.W. We then tacked and stood S.E. which brought the Vessel that was in Chase of us to leward. At 2 he appeared to have given over Chasing as he bore away and stood to the N.W. The Vessel was a brig, he appeared to be a 6 mizen. At 4 P.M. it fell Quite Calm and Continued so untill 5 A.M. when a small air Sprung up from the North East. At 7 it again fell Calm, remain'd so till Ten. We had then a light Wind at West. We are now standing for the East End of Teneriffe which is about 8 or 10 miles from us bearing S by E. At 11 Calm again. A brig is now in sight bearing SE by S. distant about 15 Miles. She appears to be standing in for the Road of Santa Cruz. At 12 oClock a Clever breese sprung up from the northward which Continued until 2 oClock. It then fell Calm again. The Brig which is mentioned above stood Close under the Island and stood about North West. We take her to be an American vessel bound home. We are now about 3 Miles from the East End of Teneriffe. The North Side of the Island is remarkable high land and full of Craggy Rocks. It appears to be not Inhabited on the North East Quarter. 3 oClock a small Breese at South which is almost ahead. A sail appears bearing SE by East about 12 or fourteen miles off standing to the westward of the Peak of Teneriffe, now bears by South. At W 4 oClock the Wind still Continues ahead. The above brig is standing in for Santa Cruz of which place we are nearly abreast. 6 oClock we are directly off Santa Cruz but do not Choose to go in as we are unacquainted with the Road.

Sunday, November 7. Last night we stood off and on. In the morning we Run in with a light breese at S.W. At 10 we come to an Anchor directly abreast of the Town when the Harbour Master with Several Other Officers came on board, and had our Vessel moored. Santa Cruz is a Small Town but Makes a handsome appearance at a small distance. The houses are all of stone plaister'd White. The Streets are Very Narrow. In the Middle of the Town near to the . . . [here the narration breaks off: the next pages of the log are missing.]

NO. 38

EARLY PIETY;
OR THE HISTORY OF
MISS DINAH DOUDNEY,

PORTSEA, ENGLAND.

BY REVEREND JOHN GRIFFIN.



Very often she would go to prayer with a little brother and sister, who were younger than herself.—See page 7.

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IN THE UNITED STATES

THE GOOD DIE YOUNG

By MONROE M. STEARNS

From early times the lives of men and women have been retold by biographers to point morals to the living. Such was the purpose of the mediaeval saint's life, with its emphasis on the supernatural and the death-bed scene; in the 17th century the lives of laymen, whose ways should be followed or avoided, became the subjects of biographies aimed to improve the reader. This moral bent, as it appeared in the pious lives of children of the early 19th century, is illustrated in the following article. Mr. Stearns is a former master of English in the Rutgers Preparatory School and is now teaching in Westminster School.

AHUNDRED years ago the freedom and carelessness of childhood in America, and England too, was a cause of more concern than an opposite tendency would be today. Whatever the opinions of Rousseau, Wordsworth, and Emerson, God-fearing, self-righteous, and prosperous families—particularly on this side of the Atlantic—were rather prone to consider their offspring as limbs of Satan. Earnest and eager assaults were made on the infant conscience to lead a life of devotion and prayer before increased years might make a future resolve too difficult and too late. One of the most familiar of these exhortations was the “old-fashioned Sunday” with its double visit to church and restriction of reading matter to the Bible, *Pilgrim's Progress*, and religious tracts, into which company it is good to learn *The Bible in Spain* was often allowed to intrude by parents misled by its title.

For the modern generation to enjoy such a day is unthinkable, but children there were who revelled in these Sundays, even some who went so far as to wish that every day in the week were Sunday. If the slippery horsehair of the parlor sofa drove them to desperation, the tears they shed were for their inability to concentrate on their sins, not at the thought that they must desert the pool in the creek or the snow-packed hill. Of Heaven they could not be sure, but of being briefly immortalized in a “Memoir” they could be positive almost beyond the shadow of a doubt.

“Memoirs,” to give a generic name to this lugubrious genre of American literature, are the lives of young persons who

died at an early age after exhibiting notable signs of piety. Memoirs have an importance because they express in popular form the spirit of an era in America which was a time of reckoning, of speculation as to each individual's eventual and ultimate abode, and of preparation for an imminent day of doom. They were read and were designed to be read by children, and because a character is determined by its early experiences, the influence on mature minds of this melancholy childhood reading may partially account for the extremes of personality which marked many of our nineteenth century leaders.

"Memoir of ——" or the subject's name itself is the title almost always given to these protocols, and no author's name ever appears on the cover or title-page. Often the text reveals the writer as a relative, friend, or minister of the deceased. The period in which these pious children lived may be roughly established as 1800 to 1850: a very few lingered beyond the latter date, and those few who were born in the eighteenth century missed the turn of the century by no more than seven years at the most.¹

Perhaps the greatest similarity in different careers is found in the period of childhood, but in these memoirs of the departed young the reader cannot help wondering whether so many children could have had such similar experiences and shared so many thoughts and hopes. It almost seems as if the authors had fitted around the brief existences of their subjects a fabric of incidents which were more the product of their own wishful imagination than an account of actualities. Enough of the children can be identified as having been real to warrant an assumption that the little books were not wholly fictitious, but the often appearing by-line on the title-pages of these memoirs, "Revised by the Committee of Publication," implies that, regardless of the accuracy of the original information, the completed work is somewhat stereotyped. No censure is intended of the devout clergymen and bereaved relatives who wrote of the pious infants, but enthusiasm and ecstasy often transmit their glow to the objects contemplated. Dates of pub-

¹ These figures do not include the dates of the children whose lives are epitomized in Janeway's *A Token for Children*, the most famous of all collections of this kind. Since James Janeway lived from 1636 to 1674, these children of necessity antedated his decease. Neither do the dates include the ten children of the supplement to that book, all of whom died before 1727.

lication are as much as thirty years beyond the date of the subject's decease, and Time has a way of enhancing fond recollection.

For the lives of these little saints conform to a pattern. They were all of poor parents, and frequently orphans and foundlings, for virtue seemed most often to dwell with those of low degree. In school they were precocious and loved learning, invariably possessing "a lively disposition, a very solid mind, together with an unusual quickness of understanding." The qualities of a "sweet, mild, governable temper," a "peculiar affection for parents," and a "high regard for truth" are always emphatically recorded and expanded with many illustrations. If "not above the usual innocent amusements of children," they wouldn't play with liars, hated bad language, and never failed to remonstrate with those of their acquaintance who were untruthful or profane. Small wonder that soon they ceased to care for their playthings, became solitary, and spent their days in prayer, reading the Bible and tracts, and learning verses of Scripture and hymns. Soon, no matter how healthy they had been—a few were admittedly sickly—they were overtaken by disease. The favorite complaints, and indeed almost the only ones mentioned, were consumption, inflammation of the lungs, inflammation of the bowels, and scrofula. Regardless of whether they were ill for a few days or for months, they suffered terrible agonies described in detail. The fear that they would die sinners and be denied the eternal company of God and His angels increased their pain. The minister was sent for, and after long catechizing and confession of guilt, the souls of the sufferers were eased. They then submitted to God's will, either rejoicing that they were going to glory or regretting that they could not live to be missionaries. As their anguish increased, they comforted themselves with Isaac Watts' lines,

Jesus can make a dying bed
As soft as downy pillows are,
While on his breast I lean my head,
And breathe my life out sweetly there.

The last moments drawing near, they summoned their brothers and sisters to the bedside, instructed them to live in virtue and cling to Christ, distributed their Sabbath School prizes among

them, and expired in the arms of their seldom grief-stricken mothers.

The Rutgers University Library possesses an excellent example of this genre, which is, so far as can be learned, a unique copy.² This *Memoir of Samuel S. Cope* begins with the address to the reader which is never missing from these tracts:

The object in preserving this brief Memoir is not to enlarge the man, but to magnify and extol the power and excellency of Divine grace which so mercifully followed him, and by its leavening virtue, made him what he was. And to present to those into whose hands it may come, the blessed effects of unreserved obedience to its heavenly visitation.

A perusal of further pages reveals that the author is one (or both) of the young man's parents, and the characteristic exaggeration and feeling is thus to be expected, this time expressed in a phraseology which seldom deviates into sentences.

Samuel S. Cope, a member of the Society of Friends, was born the 12th of first month (January), 1838. As a child and adolescent, he was retiring and diffident. Careful in choosing his intimates, he found it hard to make friends. Even to those few intimates he had, he never spoke of his own "feelings and attainments": at all times did he mind his own business and think well of all people. Later, as he matured, he investigated other religions than that of the Friends, but his experiences only convinced him that his family's religion was nearest Christ. However, his regeneration was slow, and he was inclined to "put off the work of obedience and dedication to a more convenient season."

His last illness came upon him on December 21, 1866, as the result of an internal injury. In all, he was confined for eleven weeks, enduring "great bodily suffering, wherein he manifested a remarkable degree of Christian patience and resignation. . . . His physical agony and suffering at many times appeared to be almost more than his frail earthly tabernacle could endure." Nevertheless he considered his accident a blessing in disguise, for he was able to give up earthly pleasures (one wonders what they could have been) to "seek after the durable riches and treasures of eternity."

² *Memoir of Samuel S. Cope*, Son of Morris and Ann Cope. "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me: for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls." MAT. xi, 28, 29. For private circulation. Philadelphia: William H. Pile, Printer, 1867.

Fearing that his chances of redemption were lost, he called his cousins to his bedside and advised them to take warning by him. However, his father had a message that his son's sins were forgiven, and thereafter Samuel was happy. His mind no longer felt his suffering, being "clothed with the spirit of fervent supplication." He expected to be able to sing around God's throne, and lest the opportunity be denied him by a longer earthly stay, he refused to change his physician—obviously a quack—or to entertain any hope of recovery. Finally, perceiving that his end was near, he called to his friends and family, gathered them around him, and adjured this bedside group "to go to meeting, to be good, and to do many good little things, and you will never regret it." Then, having sent everyone to bed, he quietly breathed his last on 31st of third month (March), 1867, aged twenty-nine years, two months, nineteen days.

Collections of these little lives are less frequent than individual tracts, yet several of them exist. The earliest of these is Janeway's *A Token for Children*, already referred to. Others are Experience Mayhew's *Narratives of the lives of pious Indian children who lived on Martha's Vineyard more than one hundred years since* (Boston, 1829), and *The Pleasures of Piety in Youth Exemplified in the Life and Death of Several Children* (Boston, 1819), which contains the lives of twelve little martyrs all below the age of twelve years. These collections are often reprints of the most popular of the individual memoirs, assembled perhaps for purposes of preservation.

The Rutgers University Library possesses a fine example of these anthologies,³ surely the largest single one ever made, for it contains one hundred narratives, each one a little more moral than its predecessors. It includes the life of Elizabeth C. Secor, copies of which exist in the Rutgers Library in two other forms: one a tiny fourteen page pamphlet; the other a smaller collection of seven lives all of which occur in the larger collection.⁴ All of these recount the histories of the short-lived members of the Society of Friends both English and American. Thomas Evans, the compiler, doubtless in editorial zeal, took

³ *Examples of Youthful Piety; principally intended for the Instruction of Young Persons.* By Thomas Evans. Philadelphia, 1846.

⁴ *Instances of Early Piety, Designed for the Instruction of Children.* Philadelphia, n. d. Number 33 of the publications of the Tract Association of Friends.

some liberties with his source material, and the variations between his and other accounts of the same characters are quite noticeable—a further indication that truth may sometimes have been adjusted to the author's or publisher's requirements.

Closely related to the memoir is the published sermon extolling the life of a departed infant, yet failing to give enough detail to allow of its being called a true Memoir. Such a type is the twenty-page pamphlet in the Rutgers Library which presents a sermon on the life of Miss Dinah Doudney of Portsea, England.⁵ This sermon, we are told, was delivered to an audience of children which was thought to exceed fifteen hundred. The text is taken from the story of Elisha and the Shunamite's son: "Is it well with the child? And she answered, it is well." The address must have been delivered with considerable effect, for every now and then the Rev. Griffin makes a digression, and, probably pointing with a bony finger at a fidgeting youngster, thunders:

You, little boy, that told such a wilful lie the other day, if you should be ill and die, what do you think will become of you? And you, little girl there, who stole the little maid's thimble the other day, and then told a lie to hide the fault, what do you think will become of you? That great boy there, who played truant some time ago, because he would not learn his book, nor say his catechism, and then told his mother he had been to school, what can we think will become of that wicked boy?

Dinah died when she was nine years old. Her mother had preceded her to bliss by four years, and the brief remainder of Dinah's life was devoted to a hope of rejoining her. Dinah was "very much engaged in prayer," especially secret prayer. During the period of anxious waiting in England for Napoleon to cross the Channel, she prayed earnestly for deliverance from him. "If God delivered a city by a woman," she opined, "he could make even such a little creature as I am the means of saving a nation if he pleased."

Dinah "took great delight in reading," and, as in many of the memoirs, there is given a list of the books in which all good children should revel. The usual list of them includes, of course, the Bible. Next to that in order of preference are Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Nicholl's *Help to the Reading*

⁵ *Early Piety; or the History of Miss Dinah Doudney, of Portsea, England*, by Reverend John Griffin. Published by the American Tract Society (No. 33). n. d.

of the Bible, Janeway's *A Token for Children*, Baxter's *The Saint's Rest*, and Isaac Watts' hymns. To these Dinah added "Mr. Shrubsole's Christian Memoirs," and "The Life of Mr. Henry Darney."

Each one of Dinah's virtues forms the topic for the nine periods of the address. Her religion began early and lasted till death; her religion was real, not feigned; she prayed continually; she read much; going to church delighted her; the happiness of others and love for them was a great concern; she understood how sinners are to be saved; her death was happy. For with all her virtues, she died on Thursday evening, March 27, 1799. Who can doubt, concludes Rev. Griffin, that "Dinah must think it well with her, to be able to talk with Abraham, and Moses, and David, and Paul?" Who indeed can doubt that the tot who fancied herself another Ste. Geneviève would find herself at ease in conversation with that master of intricate thought, St. Paul?

It hardly seems possible that these tiny volumes, crudely printed and cheaply bound in paper, could have been very attractive pieces of reading matter to a reader at any stage of development. Yet read they were, and many examples testify to this. A scrawled signature or a delicately traced inscription of presentation shows ownership. On a few of the illustrations—gloomy woodcuts of deathbed scenes, praying children, and grassy graveyards—fading colors roughly applied bespeak the eternal urge of the child to "crayon." Pothooks and hieroglyphs frequently decorate the slender margins. It is too much to read into mildewed spots the traces of tears of contrition; still a loop of hair or a knot of ribbon affixed to the binding tells clearly enough the sentiment of the owner.

It is to be regretted that so many of these little books have disappeared. A three years' search through the leading libraries of the East has revealed only sixty-six unduplicated examples, yet the catalogue of the American Tract Society—one of the principal publishers of Memoirs—for 1846 gives the titles of seventy-three more. The Rutgers University Library is fortunate to have such excellent and well-preserved examples of the histories of that throng of precocious martyrs whose brief but blessed lives make up a Golden Legend of American innocence.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE NEW BRUNSWICK STAGE

By ORAL SUMNER COAD

PART II

FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO 1871¹

1861

THE first year of the Civil War was a lean one so far as New Brunswick amusements were concerned, unless five minstrel shows and two circuses are to be considered adequate fare. But 1861 brought a new source of entertainment to the city, namely, the stereopticon. This machine apparently was first operated here on October 9th and 10th when an assortment of views ranging from architecture to the Southern Rebellion was shown. The place of exhibition was a room known as Lyceum Hall on the corner of George and Albany Streets, occupied today by the Strand Theatre. The building had recently been the home of the Second Dutch Church, but when that society moved diagonally across the street to its new edifice early in 1861, the old house was transformed into a public hall. Following this introduction of the novelty, stereopticon shows were frequently advertised during the ensuing months. For example, on December 4th Lyceum Hall housed an exhibition, using two cameras, of "Moving and Dissolving Views" of the Rebellion. How the movement was achieved is not revealed. Another event of the year at Lyceum Hall was a series of readings on November 13th and 20th by H. R. Ball, a professional elocutionist, of the inescapable *Lady of Lyons* and Sheridan Knowles' *The Hunchback*.

1862-1863-1864

Perhaps a desire for temporary respite from the strain and anxiety of war explains the unusual prevalence of minstrel

¹ Part I of this article appeared in the *Journal* for December, 1941.

programs at this time, at least thirty evenings being devoted to burnt-cork amusement during these three years. Among the Ethiopian comedians that purveyed good cheer at Greer's Hall were some of the best troupes on the road, including Christy's, Wood's, Sandford's, Campbell's, Morris Brothers', and Carn-cross and Dixey's. And circuses continued to exhibit, of course—at the rate of three or four each year. Magicians, who were sometimes ventriloquists besides, were also much in evidence, one of them, Professor Carl, charging an admission fee of only six cents, and another, Professor Adrien, who advertised himself as "the Prestidigitational Philosopher of the age," demanding a quarter, while Professor Wittifelder provided a program in which he cut off and restored a person's head for the reasonable sum of twenty-five cents. At this time too a novel form of amusement was appearing: on October 31, 1862, Professor Wallace illustrated various aspects of spiritualism "without recourse to spirits;" on March 24 and 26, 1863, Professor Wiseman exposed spiritualism; and on April 15, 16, and 18, 1864, the Davenport Brothers, mediums, made spirits appear—or at least advertised their intention of doing so. Another curiosity was Dr. Allen's exhibition on April 13 and 15, 1863, "of the marvelous and amusing effects of LAUGHING GAS."

A special badge of merit for originality should have gone to Captain Williams for his South Sea Whaling Voyage, which sailed the stormy waters of the Greer's Hall stage for five nights between May 18 and 22, 1863. The Captain, using an actual whaleboat and a crew of six, as well as a set of paintings for background, described and directed the activities of whale fishing while his men acted out the episodes. New Brunswick was delighted. Ellinger and Newcombe's Great Moral Exhibition and Parlor Opera of October 15, 16, and 17, 1863, promised almost anything by its title; it actually provided three dwarfs, ranging from seventeen to twenty-nine inches in height, and several vocalists, presumably of normal dimensions, among them a comedian who would sing an extemporary song on any subject the audience proposed.

A minor dramatic event of 1864 was a performance at Greer's Hall of *Robert Emmett* on March 30th, the part of Darby O'Gaft being taken by J. Williams of New York, and the other rôles by local amateurs presumably. Of rather more importance

in the field of amateur theatricals was the activity of a German group in 1864. On April 11th the German Glee Club Eintracht held a "dramatic soiree" at Saenger Hall, formerly a gymnasium, on Richmond Street. The actors offered *The Night Watchman*, a farce in German, and *The Irish Haymaker*, a farce in English. At a second "soiree" on May 2nd the program again contained two farces, each of one act, *Die Zerstreuten* and *The Limerick Boy*. Another dramatic evening on May 16th was announced without the bill of the day, and a fourth took place on July 12th, when *Lorenz and His Sister*, a one-act burlesque with music, was given.

While we have excluded concerts and other strictly musical events from our survey, we should find room to mention a visit by the Holman National Opera Troupe, a well known family organization, on May 4, 5, and 6, 1864, when they presented Donizetti's *The Daughter of the Regiment*, Rossini's *Cinderella*, and Bellini's *La Sonnambula*, much to the satisfaction of the auditors. But the Holmans never came back, perhaps because at the close of their last performance some "scamps" turned off the gas at the meter, and a riotous demonstration followed, which greatly shocked the *Fredonian*.

1865

The last year of the war was marked by somewhat more activity and variety in the amusement field than any previous war year had shown. Two dioramas with a difference call for brief citation. Davies and Company's Polyrama of the War was accompanied, on February 20th and 21st, by an unusual program consisting of comic character songs by Miss Emma Stanley and a "laughable [but unnamed] farce each evening." Two months later Chase and Newcomb held forth for five nights with their "GREAT WORLD EXHIBITION OF LIFE-LIKE MOVING FIGURES AND GIGANTIC MUSEUM OF ART." Further information would be welcome but is not forthcoming. We learn, however, that Chase and Newcomb provided the additional attractions of a concert of music and 150 beautiful presents to be given away each evening. Let us hope there was at least one paying attendant for each gift.

On March 27th and 28th occurred the first New Brunswick appearances of Tony Pastor, the principal American perfecter

of what we today know as vaudeville. His Mammoth Combination Opera, Farce, Minstrel, and Pantomime Troupe was an assemblage by means of which he at last arrived, to quote Dr. Odell, "at his long-possessed throne as prince of 'variety' purveyors."² Not the least reason for the wide favor which Tony enjoyed is to be found in this promise from his announcement in the *Fredonian*:

The programme will embody all the latest gems of Opera, Comedy, Farce and Minstrelsy, unalloyed by any indelicate acts or expressions—which, although they might satisfy the vitiated taste of the depraved—would cause a blush to mantle the brow of modesty. Our motto—fun without vulgarity.

Legitimate drama was provided this year by Higgins, Sherry, and Harrison's Grand Combination. Opening on May 11th with *The Lady of Lyons* and *Cousin Joe*, the company performed for three nights, but we are deprived of their other bills by a gap in the file of the *Fredonian* for this year. Of the company's merits I know nothing except for the paper's vague assertion of its high standing in the profession and of its possession of the necessary scenery and paraphernalia. A higher degree of talent was no doubt shown by Nicoll McIntyre of Wallack's Theatre, who, on July 27th, gave a dramatic and musical entertainment, in the course of which he rendered several scenes from standard comedies, including an impersonation of Lord Dundreary, the ineffable English swell in Tom Taylor's *Our American Cousin*, a part he had performed "for upwards of 1,000 nights in England and America."

In respect to the inevitable black-face programs during these twelve months, we need merely to record that their number was eight or more. The circuses, on the other hand, appear to have dwindled to a single one, Stone and Rosston's, which arrived on July 10th, presenting as a special attraction Cullen's band of Iroquois Indians, who depicted their tribal dances and rites, and enacted a tableau of Pocahontas saving Captain Smith.

By way of a final addition to the year's diversified attractions, Professor Donaldson, the wizard, reappeared with a fresh accomplishment. As a build-up for his program of necromancy on July 25th, he gave a free exhibition in Commerce

² G. C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, VII (1931), 707.

Square, walking and performing on a tight rope stretched from the top of the Bull's Head Hotel to the top of the Paterson Block.

1866

The report for this year can be only fragmentary because of the incompleteness of the newspaper files. We learn that the Bohemian Glass Blowers were in town again for three days about mid-January; that the Neafie Dramatic Association (presumably under the direction of J. A. J. Neafie, who was a fairly prominent actor at the Bowery and other New York theatres) gave one of its "CHASTE AND SELECT ENTERTAINMENTS" on March 17th, consisting of an unspecified drama and farce; and that Tony Pastor's Combination returned on May 17th. Apparently magicians were doing a good business: the "Fakir of Ava" spent a week at Greer's Hall in January—thanks in part to the hundred presents he gave away at each performance—and four evenings in November with the aid of John W. Whiston, humorist; while Professor Anderson provided a "World of Magic," with presents, for a week in December. As for circuses and minstrel shows, my feeble roster of two each indicates the inadequacy of the information for 1866.

1867

Explain it as one will, 1867 was by far the most crowded year New Brunswick amusement-seekers had ever seen. Aside from some sixteen evenings of "burnt-cork opera," two circuses, one Indian show, and an exhibition of tumbling and acrobatics by the Red Dragon Troupe of twenty-four Japanese and the Beni Zoug-Zoug Tribe of thirty Arabs, there were no fewer than eighteen programs of magic, in one of which Hartz the Illusionist introduced "the wondrous head, the real Indian basket trick," and "the instantaneous growth of flowers," while in a series of three others Logrenia the Conjurer displayed his trained birds, learned mice, and performing Russian cats. In addition three variety troupes appeared at Greer's Hall: on February 12th and 13th Skiff's Comedy Combination, "Comprising every variety of Performance known to the Stage," on July 2nd Tony and Billy Pastor's Combination Troupe with

Professor Tanner's performing dogs and monkeys, and on August 26th Sam Collyer's Combination, providing music, dancing, Indian club exercises, and fun. Moreover there were, on October 3rd, three programs of songs, dances, and burlesques by General Tom Thumb and his wife, Commodore Nutt, and Miss Minnie Warren, whose combined weight was a trifle over a hundred pounds. So great was the rush to see the dwarfs that hundreds were turned away.

But for our purpose these attractions are all of secondary importance in comparison with the twenty or more performances of legitimate drama by three different companies that played at Greer's Hall in 1867. May 13th brought Scott's Ocean Yacht Dramatic Troupe of about fifteen people, including Hattie Rainforth, Samuel Rainforth, and Mrs. A. Glassford, from the New York, Cincinnati, and other theatres. They opened with the wearisome *Lady of Lyons* and *The Dumb Belle*, a farce. Other plays presented during their two weeks in New Brunswick were *Ten Nights in a Bar Room*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (inevitably), *The Drunkard*, and Tom Taylor's popular *Ticket-of-Leave Man*. For May 22nd was announced the appearance of "the noted tragedian" (unknown, however, to Odell's *Annals*), Fred Alexander, "now a resident of New-Brunswick," in *Don Caesar de Bazan*. The *Fredonian* of May 24th gave the Scott Troupe a long and highly laudatory notice, pronouncing its performances the best "we" ever saw outside of large cities. The players were commended for doing and saying nothing that could offend taste or morals and for presenting plays that conferred a moral benefit as well as entertainment.

Heretofore [the comment reads in part] the Drama has been most wretchedly represented in this City. The companies who have been here have generally been charlatans, who have most egregiously humbugged our citizens with their coarse and in some cases immoral representations. Our people had therefore become disgusted with dramatic representations, and could hardly be led to believe that any thing good or decent could come from the stage—at least from travelling dramatic companies—and on the first night of the appearance of Scott's troupe here the performance was but slimly attended. Since the first night, the attendance has been generally large, on many occasions Greer's Hall being literally jammed with delighted audiences.

On July 17th Winner's New York Dramatic Troupe arrived for a week's stay, with Mrs. A. Glassford, Katie Glassford, Mr.

and Mrs. J. P. Winter, W. Barret, and W. Winner in its ranks. Among its dramas and farces were Dion Boucicault's *The Streets of New York*, *The Irish Cobbler*, *Lucretia Borgia*, or the *Poisoner*, *The Gun Maker of Moscow*, *The Swiss Cottage*, *The Irish Heiress*, *Ireland as It Is*, or *Landlords and Tenants*, *Black-Eyed Susan*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *Ten Nights in a Bar Room*. But despite the fact that the (possibly fickle) *Fredonian* pronounced this company considerably better than Scott's Troupe, especially on the male side, the attendance seems to have been somewhat meagre.

No such complaint could have been made in behalf of the third stock company of 1867, Holmes Grover's European Dramatic Alliance, which spent October 31st and November 1st in the city. J. Holmes Grover was a specialist in Irish parts, and in such plays as *The Irishman's Fortune*, *The Irish Lion*, and *Handy Andy, or the Blundering Irishman*, he appealed to the current taste, prevalent in England and America, for Irish drama. But Grover's real attraction lay in the fact that he was, according to the *Fredonian*, "our enterprising young townsman," who had recently played a starring engagement in the South (and the issue of October 25th printed a highly laudatory excerpt from the *Norfolk Virginian* to prove it). Reference was also made to his appearances in the principal British theatres. Accordingly Greer's Hall, especially at his second performance, was crammed with a delighted audience. I am sorry to be obliged to add that Professor Odell describes Grover, on the basis of his New York record, as a "feeble star."³

1868

Seemingly the local appetite for dramatic entertainment was temporarily sated by the comparative riches of 1867, for the offerings of the following year were very much leaner. Circuses, magicians, and minstrel shows (including the California Female Minstrels) abounded as of yore, but there was a dearth of plays. Professor R. R. Raymond of Brooklyn offered an approximation thereof when he read *Twelfth Night* on March 16th. A melodramatic parody was provided on May 18th by Cotton and Sharpley's Minstrels, who advertised *Under the*

³ G. C. D. Odell, *op. cit.*, IX (1937), 348.

Gaslight, or the Streets of New York "with the Great Railroad Scene and Terrific Conflagration," which proved to be an Ethiopian extravaganza at the expense of the two popular thrillers named in the double title. Three days later a Burlesque and Opera Troupe from the Fifth Avenue Theatre, made up in part of Millie Sackett, Lina Edwin, and M. B. Pike, who were later to be well known on the New York stage, presented a program of selections from Offenbach's opera, *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein*, and two comedies, *The Maid of Tyrol* and *The Shoemaker of New Brunswick*. Meagre fare withal after the abundance of 1867.

1869

The first six weeks of 1869 are a blank so far as our newspaper files are concerned, but when the record is resumed we find black-face minstrelsy still unassailably pre-eminent. One result of the burnt-cork epidemic was the organization of a local troupe, known as the New Brunswick Minstrels. This band gave what was probably its very first public performance on March 10th, including in its program "the laughable Farce entitled the Wickedest Den in New-Brunswick." The *Fredonian*'s comment reads:

This troupe of *native* artists propose to demonstrate to the citizens of New-Brunswick, at Greer's Hall, this evening, that it is folly to invite wandering, or *foreign* minstrels to this classic City, when we have plenty of Ethiopian talent at home.

Apparently the success of the "*native* artists" was such as to fire them with zeal to invade foreign fields themselves, for the *Fredonian* of November 27th, announcing another performance of theirs for November 30th, remarks:

A company of young men of this City have organized themselves into a Minstrel and Burlesque Troupe, under the proprietorship and management of Reeves, Lyons and Wilson, and before starting on their tour through the West, by request of some friends, intend to give one entertainment in their native City.

A form of variety program was offered on March 11th, 12th, and 13th by the Zanfretta Combination Troupe, which had recently been connected with the long famous Ravel Family of gymnasts and pantomimists. The Zanfretta Company like-

wise consisted of tight rope artists, athletes, dancers, and pantomimists, with the addition of musical clowns and "Negro Eccentricities." Their skill earned them a two-night return engagement in October. Billy Pastor's Burlesque Combination, of male and female composition, entertained with minstrelsy, opera, mimicry, and burlesque on August 25th. Buckley's Serenaders (minstrels) on November 16th offered a three-act burlesque of Donizetti's opera, *Lucrezia Borgia*; and on December 2nd and 3rd Rupert's Excelsior Company entertained with comedy, farce, and burlesque of some sort, but was loath to present a revealing advertisement of its wares.

1870

The attractions of 1870 were somewhat more numerous than those of the two previous years. The Bohemian Glass Blowers spent four evenings in February and March at Greer's Hall, Billy Pastor and troupe returned to town in March, and local talent presented *tableaux vivants* for two nights of the same month for the building fund of the Y.M.C.A.

June 13th saw the beginning of a week's engagement by Glassford and Winter's Theatrical Troupe. The opening piece was *Fanchon, the Cricket*, a play by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, which the irresistible acting of Maggie Mitchell had made a tremendous favorite with American audiences since 1862. The title rôle was taken in New Brunswick by Katie Glassford, the manager's daughter, whose acting far exceeded the expectations of the *Fredonian*. Indeed the company as a whole was praised for its success considering that it labored under many disadvantages "for want of room." (The first intimation of the city's need for a more capacious playhouse.) Other plays acted by this company were the long popular melodrama, *The French Spy*, *The Hidden Hand*, based on Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth's novel, Dion Boucicault's *The Colleen Bawn*, with Katie Glassford in the exquisite Agnes Robertson's part of Eily O'Connor, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *Ireland As It Was*.

Among the several minstrel troupes this year was Kelly and Leon's company, which advertised forty-seven people on the stage at one time, a number contrasting revealingly with the six performers of the band that exhibited here on April 19, 1848. Of the forty-seven one of the most admired was Leon

himself, whose impersonations of the "colored female" were pronounced unbelievably lifelike. The Skiff and Gaylord Minstrels showed commendable originality by performing with white faces and costumes.

After another visit on September 5th by the Zanfretta Troupe with new pantomimes, acts, and dances, the amusement-seekers had a chance to patronize home talent on September 13th and 14th when the Young Men's Catholic Club gave *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* and followed it with a farce, at St. Peter's Hall, Bayard Street. The *Fredonian* described the production as rather good except for the use of too many expletives that seemed out of place in such an environment. On Thanksgiving evening the same club presented *The Arrival of Dickens*, a drama, and *The Village Ghost*, a farce.

To complete the year's unusually varied program, Greer's Hall housed a freak show on December 8th and 9th, the freaks consisting of a bearded lady, a giant, a giantess, and a two-headed mulatto girl, who could carry on two different conversations simultaneously; and the next night the same stage was occupied by the Satsuma Royal Japanese Troupe of twenty acrobats, jugglers, and equilibrists.

1871

During the year 1871 New Brunswick was favored by an uncommon number of stock companies, the first of which, the Amy Stone Sensation Troupe, held forth on January 25th, 26th, and 27th. Amy Stone was an ambitious young actress, who at this time was beginning to play leads in lesser theatres of the New York area. Her principal associate, E. W. Marston, had for some years been a fairly prominent comedian at the Bowery Theatre. Their opening play, *Fanchon*, drew a crowded house, which was delighted with the smoothness of the performance. This was followed the second night by *Kathleen Mavourneen* and *Solon Shingle*, Marston taking the title rôle in the latter, as he was to do at the Bowery Theatre the next year. *Solon Shingle*, incidentally, was the first Yankee play to be given in New Brunswick, so far as our record shows, though the type had been popular in America for decades. The third night offered *Cigarette* with Amy in the name part, which she was to play for two weeks in New York in 1873.

Amy Stone was succeeded on March 13th by the Higgins Dramatic Troupe, which presented, during its four days at Greer's Hall, *Hunted Down, or the Christmas Curse*, *The Hidden Hand*, *Rip Van Winkle* (a New Brunswick first), and Augustin Daly's *Under the Gaslight*, with the famous railroad scene showing a train of cars crossing the stage at full speed. Obviously Higgins and Company liked melodrama.

September brought a return of Amy Stone as a partner in Marston and Stone's Dramatic Alliance. Again she opened, on the 6th, with *Fanchon*, which inspired the *Fredonian* to characterize her as "an artiste of unusual versatility of talent . . . she displays powers over the stronger emotions which are equalled by few actresses." And Marston's acting, we are assured, "is simply perfect." The next night brought out *The Pearl of Savoy*, another of Maggie Mitchell's starring vehicles, and on the 8th the town was treated to its first glimpse of *East Lynne*. The "standing room only" sign at these performances indicated that young Miss Stone had a following in New Brunswick.

Among the lesser events of 1871 were visitations from four variety or music hall companies, one of them being Tony Pastor's entire troupe from his Opera House in New York. On June 19th to 22nd the morbidly disposed could satisfy their curiosity by viewing a "Wonderful Double Babe" with a head at either end of its body and four legs in the middle. Stone and Murray's Circus on October 7th included in its attractions a new pantomime, *The Bear and Sentinel*. But probably the citizens were more entertained by a free balloon ascension preceding the show, which was announced as a "JOURNEY AMONG THE CLOUDS," but which, after a five-minute flight, ended ignominiously among broken telegraph wires in Church Street.

Again in 1871 the amateurs were active. On March 1st Darrow's Cornet Band, a local organization, gave a program of music plus a farce called *Stage Struck, or the Great Attraction*. On October 23rd the Young Men's Catholic Social Club again presented *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* and a farce, *The Persecuted Dutchman*. The performance, which was for the aid of the Chicago fire sufferers, drew a crowded house and brought in about \$200. Later in the fall certain "young ladies and gentlemen of New Brunswick" produced three "parlor entertain-

ments" for the benefit of a "worthy cause." The first, held on November 11th at the Grammar School (now Rutgers Preparatory School) on Somerset Street, consisted of charades of the type popular in the Victorian era, which involved a deal of fairly elaborate acting. The second program, also of charades, on November 28th, had to be transferred to Greer's Hall to accommodate the crowd. The third, given on December 15th, was called "Mrs. Jarley's Wax Works," the name of course deriving from *The Old Curiosity Shop*, and the "figgers" being represented by the young people. Historical and humorous chambers and inevitably a chamber of horrors were shown, with explanations by "Mrs. Jarley." If this seems to us a brainless form of entertainment, it should be said in defense of "the young ladies and gentlemen of New Brunswick" that "Mrs. Jarley's Wax Works" were on display at church fairs and similar functions throughout New York at this time.

(*Part III will be published next year.*)

LIVING WILD ANIMALS

from every clime; also.

The Great Van Amburgh



THE ORIGINAL LION AND TIGER TAMER!

PERFORMING ANIMALS :

From the New Brunswick Daily Fredonian
April 17, 1862

THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS

MANY of the members of the Associated Friends who do not see the *Report of the President* of Rutgers University may be glad to read the paragraphs on "Library Procedure" which our Librarian included in his annual report for 1940-41.

It may be of some interest to the readers of this report [Mr. Osborn writes] to include in it a statement as to the manner in which the University Library is administered and the results of its methods. Our practices are based on several main beliefs: (1) that the creation of a reading habit is as important in the educative process as teaching; (2) that books which remain on library shelves have only potential value, and have actual value only when they have been borrowed and are being read and studied; (3) that good will on the part of members of the staff and users of the Library is one of the main assets of a library; (4) that the undergraduates should be given the same opportunity to use the material in the library that is given to the faculty and graduate students, and that the undergraduates should be encouraged to read and become familiar with library usage, and that they should not be restricted in any way in their use of the Library. Many of the undergraduates come to the University with very little knowledge of books and libraries, and if they are restricted in their use of our facilities, they lose much of the advantage of their attendance here.

Following these theories, we place no hindrances in the way of any one in the use of library material. We have no fines, because they are expensive and disagreeable, and do not create good will. We permit every one to go to the shelves. We have no limit to the number of books that may be borrowed. We have no time limit on loans, except that periodicals may be borrowed for two weeks only.

As we check all books that are brought from the book stacks by every person our losses are reduced to a minimum, and by the simple expedient of placing on the return notice which is sent to every student at the end of the session a statement that credit for the course will not be given until his library account is cleared, we get 100% return of borrowed books or payment for lost books.

One of the objects of fines is to have all books in the library building so that they will be there when asked for. Judging from the large amount of money so collected by many libraries, they fail in their purpose. The cost of collecting fines probably exceeds by a large amount the sum collected. It is also a question, whether, if a book is out of the library when asked for, it is not in more important use by the borrower who has it than it will be in the hands of the person who is requesting it. Our method of handling the question is to make a courteous request by telephone or letter to the

person who has the book. We receive full and kindly cooperation from every one, and there is never any of the disagreeableness that fines create.

The Library is very active and much used. Out of a library registration of 5,567, the attendance on full days (15 hours) is from 1,500 to 1,900 persons. Ninety per cent of the entire group of undergraduate men and 98% of the senior class, in addition to their assigned library reading or of books on "reserve," voluntarily borrow books for outside use, 48.9% of the students of the New Jersey College for Women borrow books from the University Library. In addition to the undergraduate students, the Library is used by all members of the Faculty of the University, and by a large number of persons not connected with the University—educators, industrialists, scientists, New Jersey state officers and many others.

Gifts

The Library has received gifts from the following persons:

Charles S. Aitkin, '80	Rudolf Kirk
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Samuel D. Hoffman, '21	Oscar M. Voorhees, '88
Albert W. Holzmann, '17	Harry B. Weiss
Louis A. Kempf, '98	Dr. and Mrs. R. G. Wright

New Members

Since October four new names have been added to the membership of the Associated Friends:

Evelyn J. Hawkes	Harold E. O'Neill
Leon A. Hausman	Oliver K. Westling

NOTES FROM THE LIBRARY

ALLINSON FARM DIARIES

To the Rutgers Library's growing collection of farm diaries is now added a significant gift from Miss Caroline Allinson of Yardville. It is a set of farm records and diaries kept from 1825 to 1883 by her father, Samuel Allinson, of Locust Hill, the ancestral estate where Miss Allinson still resides.

These diaries are unique, not only in the unbroken record of farm operations for more than a half-century, but also for the reason that they cover a period when American farm life was experiencing revolutionary changes. They are valuable source material for the student of agricultural history.

The collection is of further interest because of the role played by the Allinson family in New Jersey history. Samuel Allinson's grandfather and namesake, distinguished Quaker of Burlington, was active in the affairs of Colonial New Jersey. He was at one time a partner of Charles Read, the Colonial Secretary, and was executor of the latter's estate. He is perhaps best known for his compilation of New Jersey Laws. The elder Samuel's son David edited the agricultural-literary magazine, *Rural Visitor*, a file of which Miss Allinson some time ago presented to the Rutgers Library. Miss Allinson's late brother Josiah T. Allinson was for many years a member of the Board of Visitors of the State Agricultural College.

In addition to the farm records, Samuel Allinson's diary contains

comment upon passing events. A choice item is a contemporary account of one of the strangest coincidences in American history—the deaths of Thomas Jefferson and of John Adams on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The following quotation is from the entries for July, 1826:

"July 4th. Fifty years have just passed since the declaration of the freedom of these United States from the galling yoke of Britain. Of those who signed it, three alone are left. Adams, Jefferson & Carroll still survive, but they are the veterans of departed years & 'Stand on the verge of dark Eternity.'

"5th. Three persons were yesterday drowned by a wherry being run over by a team-boat in the evening.

"6th. Met Uncle Samuel in the street. He arrived 2 or 3 days since from New Orleans in good health.

"7th. Thomas Jefferson is numbered with the silent dead. On the 50th anniversary of our national independence he ended a long & useful life at about 10 minutes before 1 o'clock P.M. aged 83 years.

"8th. 'By Helles' stream there is a voice of wail
And woman's eye is wet—
man's cheek is pale.'

John Adams also now sleeps with his fathers. On the day of the nation's Jubilee, surrounded by the rejoicing & festivities of the occasion, these veteran statesmen breathed their last breath. What a remarkable

coincidence!!! Adams died about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 o'clock P.M.

"11th. Beheld 'Our Great Father, the President of the United States.' J. Quincy Adams. He was on board the steamboat on his way to Quincy. (He received the tidings of his father's death on the road.)"

With source materials such as this continually accumulating, the Rutgers Library is becoming an increasingly important depository of original documents relating to the history of New Jersey.

CARL R. WOODWARD

THEODORE STRONG—HIS LIBRARY

Two or three years ago the University was the recipient of the library of Theodore Strong (1790-1869), professor of mathematics at Rutgers from 1827 to 1863. The collection was presented by the family of his grandson, the late Honorable Theodore Strong, class of 1883. The gift is highly valued for the wide range of subjects indicated by the volumes, because it contains some of the early classics in pure and applied mathematics, treatises written by the brilliant mathematicians of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, and because it furnishes an index of the quality of mind of the owner and of his keen interest in profound subjects. Many of the volumes are on natural and moral philosophy and religion. In recognition of the brilliance of his mind and of his scholarly interest in philosophy and religion as well as in mathematics, the college conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D in 1835.

Professor Strong was a forceful, dominant influence in the college for

more than thirty years. Let me quote from the address by Dr. Rush Van Dyke before the alumni, June 16, 1868. "Of all the Faculty in my day, alone remains Professor Strong; whose forte appeared to be the production of the largest results by the continued and continuous addition of the smallest increments, over the portal of whose class-room, the golden legend seemed inscribed, 'Who teaches slow and deeply, teaches quickly best.'"

It is quite a significant fact that George William Hill, one of the most distinguished mathematicians whom this country has produced, should have come under the influence of Dr. Strong in the closing years of Strong's active career. Young Hill found himself in the presence of and under the friendly and stimulating guidance of Theodore Strong and was given the freedom of the library of this scholar and teacher. Hill's own account of that influence is as follows: "Having shown some aptitude for mathematics it was decided to send me to college; and, in October, 1855, I took up residence at Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. Here I found Dr. Theodore Strong, professor of mathematics, who was a friend of Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, the translator of Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste*. I remember seeing in Dr. Strong's library the presentation copy of this work. Under his guidance, I read such books as Lacroix, *Traité du Calcul Différentiel et Intégral*; Poisson, *Traité de Mécanique*; Pontecoulant, *Théorie Analytique du Système du Monde*; Laplace, *Mécanique Céleste*; Lagrange *Mécanique Analytique*; Legendre, *Fonctions Elliptiques*. My professor was an old-

fashioned man; he liked to go back to Leonard Euler for all his theorems; as he said, 'Euler is our Great Master.' Hill had been admitted to Rutgers College by virtue of his scholastic tests, but was soon admitted to a university when he was given access to Strong's library.

Carlyle has said, "The true university of these days is a collection of books." What were some of these books? There was the calculus by S. F. Lacroix, who lived from 1765 to 1843. This book, the result of years of immense labor, was a compilation of the researches in the subject prior to 1797. It is upon this work that the fame of Lacroix as a mathematician rests. Laplace said that it had cost him ten years of labor to obtain the material which was contained in his volume. A book like this in the hands of such a student as Hill would do much in advancing his mathematical interests. There was Gummere's treatise on astronomy, published a dozen or so years before Hill entered Rutgers. The reading of this book no doubt kindled his interest in the study of the heavenly bodies. The algebra by Benjamin Peirce of Harvard, a standard work of that day, furnished him with manipulative and analytic machinery so necessary in his later researches. His mind was being stored with knowledge that would enhance the appreciation of the work of Laplace (1749-1825) in celestial mechanics, of Legendre (1752-1833) in elliptic functions and analysis, and of Lagrange (1736-1813) in analytic mechanics. These men were the mathematical giants of their time, and had all made important contributions to science as young men, Lagrange when he was

only nineteen. These were some of the books which, made available to him in the library of Strong, had a pronounced effect upon the life interest of George William Hill.

Perhaps the one book, more than any other of this collection, which had the effect of starting Hill on his destined career in the field of dynamical astronomy was the volume on *Céleste Mécanique* by Laplace. The effect of the study of this volume on astronomy and mechanics, together with the reading of other books in the collection, was that he began independent research while an undergraduate. The first product of this independent study was the publication, in 1861, of an article on the extension of Laplace's investigation of the figure of the earth. All the rest of his life he continued his investigations in dynamical astronomy with unabated vigor and mental acumen, even into his seventy-fifth year. The results of fifty years of labor in this field have added greatly to the science. Four quarto volumes of his collected works have been published, while, according to R. S. Woodward, writing of him in the *Astronomical Journal* for June 5, 1914, there is among his papers material for a fifth. Had Strong lived to know the brilliant achievements of his pupil, what satisfaction it would have been to him to know that he had been instrumental in opening the scientific door to this young man who was later acclaimed one of the world's outstanding mathematicians.

In his *Reminiscences of College Days at Rutgers, 1833 to 1836*, Professor George W. Coakley, Class of 1836, speaks of the wide range of subjects taught by Professor Strong to the four classes. The list included

algebra, Euclidean geometry, trigonometry, navigation, surveying, Cartesian geometry, both the differential and integral calculus, mechanics, political and mathematical geography, and astronomy and physics. He goes on to say that Professor Strong was a mathematical genius, the compeer in attainments and ability of the first mathematicians of his day, the acknowledged equal of Bowditch, of Professors Adrian of Rutgers, and Anderson of Columbia College, Peirce of Harvard, or any other distinguished mathematicians of this country. Professor Strong was persistent in solving problems in all the mathematical periodicals of this land in his day. He was a student of all the treatises on higher mathematics of Europe whether in French, Italian, or Latin, as well as English. Professor Coakley had read many of Strong's solutions of problems, and these he says bore unmistakable evidence of his intimate acquaintance with the works of the European writers on mathematics, and indeed exhibited complete mastery of these works as well as original skill.

In his "Reminiscenses of the Long Ago," published in the *Targum* in May, 1896, Principal Albert Wells, Class of 1831, has the following to say of Professor Strong. "With the stern sentiments of moral and religious obligation, indicative of his native state, he was a hard student and a faithful mentor to the young men. In pure mathematics 'he ranked among the ablest.' He succeeded in solving, by direct method, the irreducible case of the cubic equations left by Cardan. (See his *Higher Algebra*, page 464 (2).) He also discovered a method of extract-

ing, by the direct process, any root of an integral number. (See his *Higher Algebra*, page 288 (8).) He was the author of *Higher Algebra*, 1859, *Differential and Integral Calculus*, 1869, and many contributions to current scientific periodicals." His algebra was published near the end of his active career, and the calculus in the year of his decease, both exhibiting careful research and matured skill in their making.

Dr. Strong's original investigations and mathematical papers won for him wide recognition. He was made a member of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. When the National Academy of Sciences, the highest scientific body in the land, was formed, he was appointed by Congress as one of its corporate members. His worth, as a leader in science and as one influential in laying sound foundations, was recognized and honored.

RICHARD MORRIS

RUTGERS PUBLICATION

CARL RAYMOND WOODWARD.
Ploughs and Politicks. Charles Read of New Jersey and His Notes on Agriculture. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1941 (Rutgers University Studies in History, Number Two) xxvi, 468 pp.

THE chronicle of seed-time and harvest, of sowing and reaping, of the herds and of the barnyards, this might seem prosaic enough. Yet this volume of agricultural history is an evidence that it can be quite the contrary. In fact it is a mystery story in true detective fashion of how an historian went out to find a farm and discovered a man.

Benjamin Franklin was reputed to be the owner of a farm in New Jersey, but no one knew where. Dr. Woodward, New Jersey's agricultural historian, undertook to find out. In the course of his search, one of the county agents brought him a huge and ancient tome, generously interleaved and annotated. This was an English agricultural handbook of the seventeenth century and the notes and interleavings were notes and additions embodying eighteenth century colonial practice. By clever analysis and criticism, Woodward discovered therein the secret of the farm, namely that the land like the book were the property of Charles Read of Burlington, N. J.

This adventure in historical discovery led the author to develop a three-fold plan for this book. He would write a biography of Read, he would make a contribution to colonial agricultural history based on extensive research, and he would reproduce Read's notes. Writing the biography led him into many channels, for Read was a man of many talents and interests.

In the first part of the book, there is the biography. After an introductory chapter outlining Read's career chronologically, there is a series dealing with the various phases of his career as farmer, iron master, customs collector, politician, judge, *et cetera*. Each of these chapters places this type of interest in its general social and economic setting, making up an excellent picture of the New Jersey life of the time. The

second part is a technical discussion of the agricultural practices of the community illustrated by Read's notes. The book, therefore, is biography, history, documentary material all in one. In each one of these branches it is significant and enlightening; much historical knowledge is displayed and an interesting biography is presented to the general reader. Its technical aspects make it a work that no agricultural historian can safely overlook.

Above all the book is significant because it gives us another example of a type of citizen now almost extinct. Read like Franklin represents that versatility which is a characteristic of the more leisurely, less specialized days of American colonial experience. These men had time to become masters of a variety of interests. In this case, one who might be termed the Boss of New Jersey in the 1750's and early 1760's was spending much time, thought and energy on the many problems of husbandry, as well as engaging in sundry business ventures, and on the side, having an eye out for the ladies.

In these hectic days when life goes by so rapidly, it is well to take a little time to ponder on the nature of life in that earlier day of Franklin and Read.

In closing it is most appropriate to call attention to the excellent workmanship of the bookmaking. It adds to the laurels heretofore won by the Rutgers Press.

Roy F. Nichols

THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS OF THE LIBRARY OF RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

THIS Association was founded on May 21, 1937, to maintain an organization of persons interested in books, to assist in bringing to the Library of Rutgers University funds for special needs beyond the command of the Library budget, to encourage gifts of books and manuscripts, and to co-operate with the Librarian and the Library Advisory Board in the development of the resources of the Library under the direction of the Library Committee of the Board of Trustees of Rutgers University.

MEMBERSHIP. Any person, business firm, or corporate body interested in the objects of the Association may become a member on application duly approved, or on invitation by the Executive Committee.

DUES. The annual dues shall be not less than \$2.00. Members who wish to do so may elect to pay annual dues of larger amounts. Gifts of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, or other material needed by the Library may be accepted by the Executive Committee in place of dues. All members shall receive *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library* as issued.

MEETINGS. The meetings of the Association shall consist of an annual business meeting to be held at such time and place as shall be determined by the President, and such other meetings as the Executive Committee shall determine. Five members shall constitute a quorum sufficient for the transaction of business at any annual meeting.

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JACOB RUTSEN HARDENBERGH

*No likeness of the first president of Queen's College was known to exist
until this silhouette was acquired by the Library last Spring.*

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The JOURNAL

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Volume V

DECEMBER 1941

Number 1

THE CHARTER

By W. H. S. DEMAREST

IN THE Rutgers Library is a copy of the second charter of Queen's College, now Rutgers University, printed in the year of its granting, 1770. The first charter of Queen's College was granted by George III through Governor William Franklin of the Province of New Jersey, November 10, 1766. The original of this is not in the possession of the University and is not known to be in existence. No copy of it in manuscript or printing is known. The second charter was granted by George III and Governor Franklin, March 20, 1770. The original document, like that of the first charter, has not been found. The copy printed in the very year of its granting is by reason of its date, therefore, of especial interest and importance.

Its value is the greater because it is the only copy of this particular printing known to be in existence and because no other very early printing of the charter is known. It was secured by the library thirty-five years ago at the auction of books and documents of the deceased Samuel Smith Purple, M.D. of New York City. The listing of it in the auction announcement gave to Rutgers the first knowledge of its existence and its purchase was accomplished. Dr. Purple (1822-1900) was an eminent physician, a leader in his profession, especially in the advancing of its organized life in the city and of its library resources, a founder of the Academy of Medicine, president of it 1875-78, founder of its library, inaugurating it with the gift of his own 5000 volumes on medical science and practice. He was a lover of books, keenly sensitive to the value

THE LIBRARY OF THE
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES

of old printings and manuscripts, devoted to the study of biography and genealogy, editor for some years of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*. His private library was one of the largest in the city. For it he had acquired at some time and from some unknown source the copy of the Queen's charter probably through his sense of its rare historic and literary value rather than from any personal interest in the college.

Its value for the quality of its printing and the name of its printer is also in point. The printer was John Holt (1721-1784), at the Exchange, New York. He was one of the great printers of the colonial period. Of Williamsburg, Virginia, he practiced his art there, then at Norfolk, then at New Haven with James Parker, then from 1760 in New York. A member of the English Church, he was yet ardently devoted to the cause of independence, a vigorous writer in this and other controversies. Away from New York in Revolutionary years, he carried on his printing for a time at Kingston (Esopus) and Poughkeepsie. His first publication at New Haven was an edition in Latin of the Statutes of Yale College: "Liber Primus Novo-Portu Impressus." In the printing of the Queen's charter his choice of type with the variety and arrangement of it composed a book of rare dignity and beauty.

The rare interest of this printed copy of the charter lies in still further detail. At the end of the text, between it and the signature "Pettit" (Charles), the secretary of the Council of the Province, is the official advice: "By desire of the Trustees within named none of the copies of the foregoing Charter are to be delivered or held to be genuine but such as are subscribed by Peter Zabriskie, Esq." The copy before us carries the written signature of Peter Zabriskie. The writing of so long ago is faint, easily escaping notice, but the name is perfectly clear. He was a trustee, of the colony of New Jersey, his home at Hackensack.

Again, the binding in which the copy of the charter is enclosed is highly significant. The name of the binders appears in very small print within the cover, Riviere and Son. They were bookbinders, not in the United States, but in London. It appears, therefore, that this printed copy of the charter had been sent or taken to England, possibly for some official notice

CHARTER
OF A
COLLEGE
TO BE ERECTED IN
NEW-JERSEY,
BY THE NAME OF
QUEEN'S-COLLEGE,

FOR the Education of the Youth of the said Province and the Neighbouring Colonies in true Religion and useful Learning, and particularly for providing an able and learned Protestant Ministry, according to the Constitution of the Reformed Churches in the United Provinces, using the Discipline approved and instituted by the national Synod of Dort, in the Years 1618, and 1619.

Printed by JOHN HOLT; at the EXCHANGE,
N E W - Y O R K,
M,DCC,LXX.

and filing. The year of its binding is 1880 or later, since the son does not appear in the Riviere title until that year. Robert Riviere began his bookbinding in London in 1840 or a little earlier. He became greatly distinguished, was of such skill and good taste that he did work for the great collectors and for "the Queen and Royal Family," and was given commission to bind copies of a great presentation volume to be sent to "all the crowned heads of Europe." The firm continued their work until 1940, a full century. The binding of the Queen's College charter is a beautiful example of their art. The passing of this unique copy of the charter to England and its return to the United States, to the library of Dr. Purple, present an alluring subject for future study.

The occasion for the superseding of the first charter by a second, the difference between them, is not entirely clear. That a charter had been granted as early as 1766 did not receive due attention until about fifty years ago. In fact the centennial of the founding of the college was celebrated in 1870, not in 1866. The grant of 1766 and its active force appear in a call for a meeting of the trustees of Queen's College, April 4, 1767. The summons is signed by the secretary; it recites the granting of the charter November 10, 1766; it lists the trustees named in it; it calls them to convene at New Barbadoes (Hackensack) on the second Tuesday of May 1767. Several further meetings of the trustees were held prior to 1770. Since the exact wording of the first charter is not known, it cannot be precisely compared with the wording of its successor. It may be fairly inferred, however, that they agree in almost every particular. Almost at once after the first grant, however, there was a request for alteration of it. Such petition was read before the Council of the Province, June 27, 1767; Hendrick Fisher and other trustees were present to support it; it failed of favorable action. At a meeting October 4, 1769, the trustees again presented a petition, praying to be relieved from some embarrassment attending the charter, especially its "allowing the distinction between residents and non-residents of their colony." They said that support of the college must come from outside the colony as well as from inside it, that such support was prejudiced by words of the charter. The Council at Burlington, November 24, 1769, recommended to

the Governor that he grant the desired change. His action to this effect took the form, not of amendment to the charter of 1766, but of a new charter, March 20, 1770.

What few words were changed does not appear. It is readily supposed that the reference to residents and non-residents relates to residents of the colony of New Jersey and residents of New York, with Pennsylvania also probably in mind. The list of trustees named in the new charter shows no substantial change from the names given in the call issued under the first. Of the forty-one men, twenty-one are of New York, and twenty of New Jersey including four state officers—two of the twenty more accurately perhaps of Pennsylvania. The names correspond almost without exception: John Covenhoven is substituted for John Van Metern (Van Mater?); and in three instances the first name is changed, because, possibly of a verbal error in one list or the other. It would appear, therefore, that the question was, not of numbers resident in each colony, but of some special status or privilege given the trustees resident in New Jersey.

The royal and colonial charter of Queen's College, March 20, 1770, confirmed with minor amendments by the Legislative Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, June 5, 1781, remains, with later amendments, the document upon which Rutgers University maintains its life and work of education.

The copy printed by John Holt in 1770 in the best printing art of the time reposes in the Rutgers archives, a treasure of especial distinction.

From a Sketch by A. J. Davis

VIEW OF NEW BRUNSWICK IN 1820, SHOWING QUEENS COLLEGE AT RIGHT

Courtesy of the New York Public Library



Le 20 Janv. 1776. V. S. N.
En vertu de l'ordre du Ministre Plénipotentiaire des
Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, près Sa
Majesté Très-Chrétienne,

Il R. O. N. S. tous ceux qui sont à prior,
de réaliser bien laisser sûrement & librement
partir. W. Shreve, ^{Colonel du 1^{er} Régiment d'Artillerie} et important avec l'autre
l'assassin d'Ingraham ne permettre qu'il ait fait donné
aucun empêchement, mais au contraire de lui
accorder toutes sortes d'aide & d'assistance,
comme nous ferions, in pareil cas, pour tous
aux qui nous seraient recommandés.

Le 20 Janv. 1776. O. S. N.
avons délivré le présent passeport, jusqu'à
pour un. Nous, signé de notre main,
contre signé par l'un de nos Secrétaires, &
au bas duquel est l'empreinte de nos Armes.

D O N N E à Passy, en notre
Hôtel, le 8 ^{me} mil. Sept cent quatre
vingt-huit.

W. Franklin

Par ordre du Ministre Plénipotentiaire.

W. Franklin



THE RUTGERS PASSY PASSPORT

A PASSY PASSPORT

By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS

Shortly before his death the late Robert Hude Neilson, of the Class of 1903, gave to the Library, among a collection of rare materials, a passport printed by Benjamin Franklin at his press at Passy. Counting on this piece of good fortune to bring us further luck, we asked Dr. Randolph G. Adams, of the William L. Clements Library, to write an article on this precious yellowed sheet of paper. Dr. Adams graciously consented to write the following article, which becomes in a way an addendum to his brochure, The Passports Printed by Benjamin Franklin at his Passy Press, 1925.

CHARLES STORER may not have been the most important member of Benjamin Franklin's circle in France, but he knew how to get what he wanted. He first appears among Dr. Franklin's correspondents in a letter written in March of 1783, in which he confesses an ignorance of Parisian manners and customs and asks the Doctor how he should behave. Could he have gone to any better fountain of wisdom in such matters? The record does not reveal what counsel the Doctor gave him, nor whether he took advantage of it. Perhaps 'tis just as well. Apparently Mr. Storer also desired to do a bit of travelling, and on April 8 of the same year, he secured a passport, duly signed by Benjamin Franklin, and countersigned by William Temple Franklin, which permitted "M. Storer, Citoyen des dits États" to go to Holland, with a servant. He may not have left at once, for certainly in June he was dining with the Doctor at Passy, but by August he was in England and by November he was back in France.

The passport used by Mr. Storer on his tour belongs to the Library at Rutgers University. It must be remembered that in the spring of 1783, the War of the American Revolution had not yet been officially ended. Although Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown was now eighteen months past, and although the preliminary Treaty of Peace had been signed six months before, Britain and the United States were still legally at war. American citizens needed passports with which to travel. Dr. Franklin as American envoy at Paris not only granted such pass-

ports,—he printed them. It will be remembered that the Doctor wrote his own epitaph, in which he wished to be remembered as "Benjamin Franklin Printer."

Much has been written about Dr. Franklin's little "private press," which he operated at Passy during his tenure of office in France at the time of the American Revolution. Imprints of this Press have been "collector's items" for many years, and have fetched fancy prices whenever they came on the market. In 1914, the Grolier Club published Luther S. Livingston's *Franklin and his Press at Passy*, an ideal bibliography by an ideal bibliographer. This work described the thirty-two then known products of the Press at Passy. These ranged from the precious "bagatelles" which Doctor Franklin printed for the amusement of his lady friends, and others, to blank forms for official use in the conduct of his business. The Rutgers passport is Number 31 in Livingston.

Since 1914, six additional imprints of the Passy Press have come to light. The first was identified by George Simpson Eddy of New York, and by him edited for reprinting by Bruce Rogers (who had also done the Livingston book) as *A project of universal and perpetual peace written by Pierre-André Gargaz . . . and printed by Benjamin Franklin at Passy in the year 1782* (New York, 1922). Next, a variant of the passport was discovered by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, in the Vignaud collection at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. This led to the discovery of two other variant printings of the passport, and the three were reproduced in *The Passports printed by Benjamin Franklin at his Passy Press* (Ann Arbor, 1925). About the same time, Mr. Franklin Bache of Philadelphia, a descendant of Dr. Franklin, discovered some printed promissory notes in the Franklin papers which had come down in the Bache family. One of these was reproduced by Charles Bache and Louis C. Karpinski in an article in the *Dearborn Independent* for July, 1925. Later, when the Bache collection was acquired by the American Philosophical Society, yet another imprint, *An Ordinance [of the Continental Congress of 1782]* was discovered by Mr. Bache. In 1926, the present writer found at the University of Pennsylvania Library a printed form of dinner invitation used by Doctor Franklin,

and summed up the various additions to Livingston in an article in *The American Collector*, for August, 1927.

But to get back to the passports: Livingston described only one of the printing variants of the passports for persons (as distinguished from passports for ships). That is his Number 31, and it is identical with the Rutgers passport. However, as noted above, three other printing variants are now known and are described below. The text of all the passports is practically identical, it is only in typography that they differ materially. The text (which is in French, the language of diplomacy) was taken word for word from the current passports issued by the French government for use by its ambassadors. Of course, it would be difficult to decide exactly what particular document Franklin thus copied, but a shrewd guess may be made, because among the Franklin Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is such a French passport, signed in 1776 by de Noailles, the French ambassador at London, for the notorious Dr. Edward Bancroft. Franklin and Bancroft seem to have played hide-and-seek with one another's private and official papers, so perhaps the Doctor just "retained" this one. It may well have been the model for the Passy passports.

Following Livingston we have designated these passports as Livingston 31, 31a, 31b and 31c. A census of surviving copies of the passports would run something as follows:

LIVINGSTON 31: This is the Rutgers passport issued to "M. Storer." It is like that issued to "Mr. [Moses] Young" at the Massachusetts Historical Society, that issued to "Messrs. Rawle et M. Walker" at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and that issued to "M. Elkanah Watson," formerly the property of Watson Kent of New York and now owned by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach of Philadelphia.

LIVINGSTON 31a appears to have survived in three copies, two of which are in blank. One is in the library of the American Philosophical Society and the other in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. But the Clements Library also possesses another copy, made out to "Mr. Harmar, Colonel au Service des dits États." This is our favorite, because it was this very passport which Lieutenant Colonel (afterward General) Harmar used when he carried back to

Paris the ratification of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain, which ended the Revolution, in the making of which Treaty Doctor Franklin had had a large share. This copy was found among Harmar's papers, which are now at the Clements Library.

LIVINGSTON 31b exists in apparently a unique copy in the William Smith Mason collection at the Yale University Library. It is made out to "Messrs. Jones et Paradise."

LIVINGSTON 31c is in blank and also exists in what is apparently a unique copy in the S. Weir Mitchell collection at the University of Pennsylvania Library.

The passports are rare, and any library is lucky to have one copy of one variant. When Doctor Franklin signed the Rutgers copy, and when, possibly, William Temple Franklin handed it to Storer, bibliographers were probably not aware of the importance their descendants would attach to these ephemera. Today, from the standpoint of the bibliographer, they are priceless. If more practical folk should enquire what the money value of any one of these single sheets of paper may be, the reply is always, "They are worth exactly what someone will give for them." Fortunately we have records on that, also. When the Watson Kent passport came on the auction market in the hilarious decade of the 1920's, it fetched \$1775. If the curious wish to know what has occurred to that price since, he has only to examine Dr. Rosenbach's 1941 catalogue entitled "A bibliophile's miscellany," and he will see that whatever has happened to other forms of property, a Passy Passport is held at no less a price in the 1940's than it fetched in the 1920's.

*Nous Benjamin Franklin,
Ecuyer, Ministre Plénipotentiaire des
Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, près Sa
Majesté Très-Chrétienne,*

PRIONS tous ceux qui sont à prier
de vouloir laisser sûrement & librement
passer

sans donner ni permettre qu'il soit
donné aucun empêchement, mais au contraire
de accorder toutes sortes d'aide & d'affi-
stance, comme nous ferions en pareil cas, pour
tous ceux qui nous seroient recommandés.

EN FOI DE QUOI nous avons
délivré le présent Passe-port, valable pour
signé de notre main, contre-signé
par l'un de nos Secrétaires, & au bas
duquel est l'empreinte de nos Armes.

DONNÉ à Passy, en notre Hôtel, le
mil sept cent quatre-vingt-



Par ordre du Ministre Plénipotentiaire

1776.

LIVINGSTON 3IA

*Nous Benjamin Franklin,
Ecuyer, Ministre Plénipotentiaire des
Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, près Sa
Majesté Très-Chrétienne,*

PRIONS tous ceux qui sont à prier, de
rouloir bien laisser sûrement & librement pef-
fer sans donner ni permettre qu'il soit
donné aucun empêchement, mais au contraire
de accorder toutes sortes d'aide & d'affi-
stance, comme nous ferions en pareil Cas,
pour tous ceux qui nous seroient recommandés.

EN FOI DE QUOI nous avons
délivré le présent Passe-port, valable
pour *un Mois* signé de notre main,
contre-signé par l'un de nos Secrétaires, & au
bas duquel est le Cachet de nos Armes.

DONNÉ à Passy, en notre Hôtel, le
mil sept cent quatre-vingt-

Par Ordre de M. le Ministre Plénipotentiaire

Ben Franklin

LIVINGSTON 3IB

*Nous Benjamin Franklin,
Ecuyer, Ministre Plénipotentiaire des
Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, près Sa
Majesté Très-Chrétienne,*

PRIONS tous ceux qui sont à prier, de
vouloir bien laisser sûrement & librement pef-
fer

sans donner ni permettre qu'il soit
donné aucun empêchement, mais au contraire
de accorder toutes sortes d'aide & d'affi-
stance, comme nous ferions en pareil Cas,
pour tous ceux qui nous seroient recommandés.

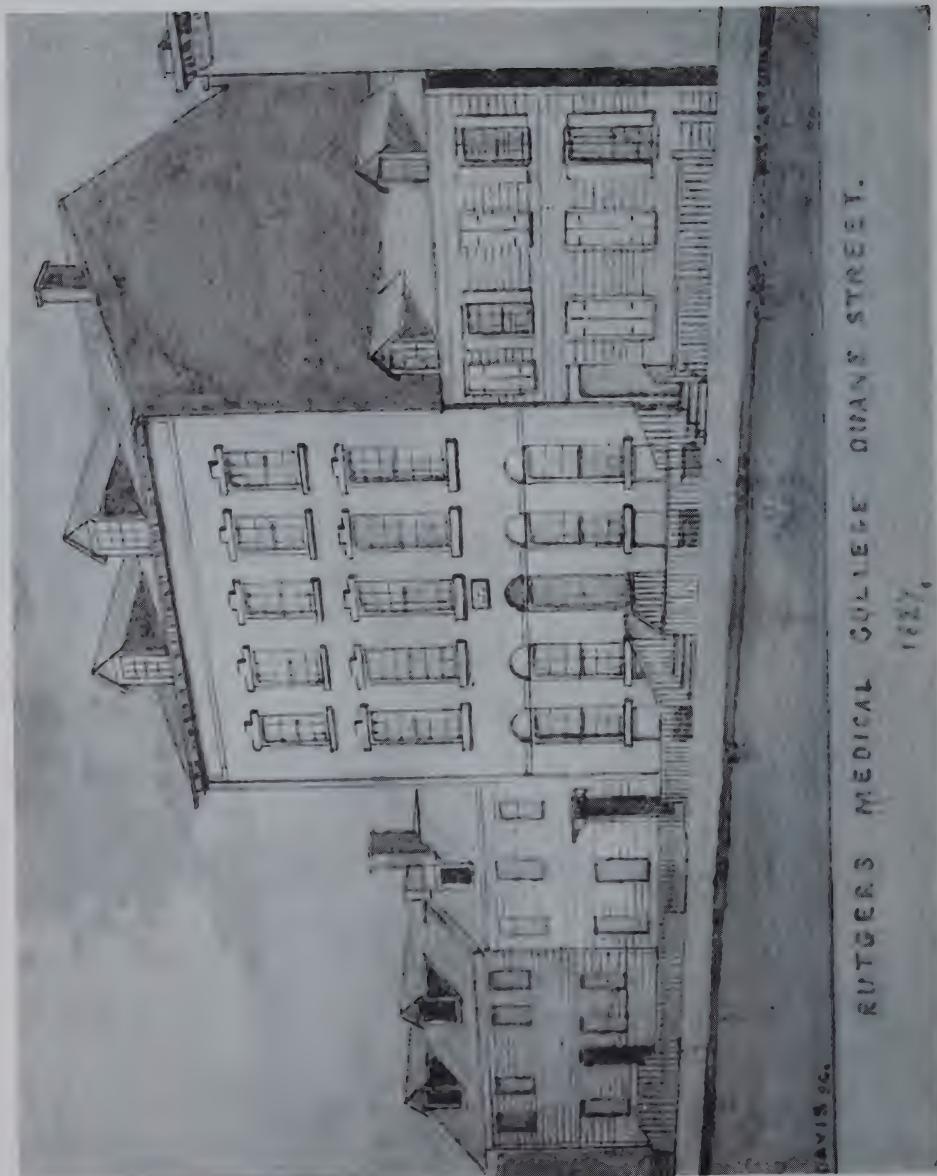
EN FOI DE QUOI nous avons
délivré le présent Passe-port, valable
pour signé de notre main,
contre-signé par l'un de nos Secrétaires, & au
bas duquel est l'empreinte de nos Armes.

DONNÉ à Passy, en notre Hôtel, le
mil sept cent quatre-vingt-



Par ordre du Ministre Plénipotentiaire

LIVINGSTON 3IC



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City

From a sketch by A. J. Davis

DAVID HOSACK AND THE RUTGERS MEDICAL COLLEGE

By LORING B. PRIEST

Most Rutgers men forget that the college ever had a Medical School, but the historians of medicine remember well the troubles of Dr. David Hosack and his colleagues. The story told here by Dr. Priest rests on the evidence supplied by the manuscript remains which are stored in the Library. The events occurred in the time of the third medical college at Rutgers. The first ran from 1792 to 1793, and the second from 1812 to 1816, when Rutgers was still Queen's College. Dr. Priest is himself a Rutgers graduate of the Class of 1930. His first book, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, a study of United States Indian policy, is being published by the Rutgers University Press this autumn.

IN 1826 five outstanding physicians resigned from the staff of the College of Physicians and Surgeons and attempted to establish a medical school in collaboration with Rutgers College. The facts are fully recorded in our medical histories.¹ But public documents do not reveal fully the intensity of the dispute, which created lasting antagonisms between New York doctors and ended only with the collapse of Rutgers Medical College. In refusing to sanction Rutgers degrees on the ground that local control of education would be jeopardized, the New York legislature only advanced an official excuse for a move which would have been made in any case.² Much more influential than states rights in producing a determination to wreck the school was jealous hatred of the accomplishments of its founders. In the bitter words of personal correspondence, platform tirades, and magazine invective rather than in the refinements of formal reports is to be found the real cause for the failure of Rutgers Medical College after this third beginning.

Dr. David Hosack, head of the new school and widely rec-

¹ Adequate accounts may be found in John C. Dalton, *History of the College of Physicians and Surgeons*, New York, 1888; James J. Walsh, *History of Medicine in New York*, 1919; and David D. Demarest, *Rutgers (Queen's) College and Medical Degrees*, Trenton, 1894.

² States rights was definitely eliminated as an issue the following year when the legislature prohibited Geneva College from granting degrees to Rutgers Medical College graduates. It was this action, upheld by New York courts in 1830, which forced Hosack and his colleagues to abandon their efforts.

ognized as America's leading physician,³ was the center of the storm, and, in fact, he had done much to arouse hostility. Quick-tempered and imperious, he frequently entered controversial discussion with a tactlessness which won few friends. His prominence in the political and cultural life of New York might have been more tolerable if he had been less vain. A colleague, Valentine Mott, might forgive Hosack's insistence that the practice of surgery was unworthy of a gentleman;⁴ but less favorably disposed acquaintances were unwilling to condone his declaration that a deceased friend was the only man he had ever met who approached his abilities.⁵ Yet unreasonable as Hosack was in proclaiming his own merits, the criticism he faced in establishing Rutgers Medical College presented an equally inaccurate picture of the man.

The personal contempt for Hosack, which motivated opponents of Rutgers Medical College, caused them to seize every opportunity to abuse him. Their chief medium was the *New York Medical and Physical Journal*, inaugurated under Hosack's influence in 1820 but controlled after 1824 by his enemies.⁶ After Rutgers Medical College had opened, each issue of this publication raged at Hosack as vain and deceitful. He had never received, it was stated, the Edinburgh degree he so proudly claimed.⁷ He had impetuously resigned a Columbia post with the excuse that it was unworthy of his talents.⁸ He was sole author of a series of pamphlets misrepresenting American medical development and emphasizing his own importance.⁹ He had strongly opposed establishment of a new medical school in New York in 1824 only to found one of his

³ Dr. Hosack's pre-eminent position in these years has been generally recognized even by men critical of his career in other respects (Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 40; and Valentine Mott, *Reminiscences of Medical Teachers and Teaching in New York*, New York, 1850, p. 8).

⁴ Valentine Mott, *Eulogy on the late Dr. John W. Francis*, New York, 1861, p. 11.

⁵ Hosack referred to the departed as "the only man with whom, in the whole course of my life, I have come into any sort of collision—whose talents and whose station could for a moment induce me at least to consider him as a rival." (David Hosack, *Eulogium on Dr. Post*, p. 20, quoted in a satirical broadside against Rutgers Medical College to be found in the Rutgers University Library.)

⁶ Hosack's close friend, Dr. John W. Francis, announced in March 1825 that his connection with the *Journal* had ceased (*New York Medical and Physical Journal*, IV, March 1825, p. 144). The new editor, Dr. John B. Beck, was as hostile to Hosack as Francis had been friendly.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII (March 1828), footnote, pp. 157-158. This charge is apparently true. Although Hosack studied in Edinburgh for a year, there is no evidence that he received a degree.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VII (December 1828), footnote, p. 611.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI (December 1827), p. 624.

own two years later.¹⁰ Such a man, obviously, was not to be trusted. When Hosack was defeated in an effort to win the presidency of the New York county medical society, therefore, his enemies enthusiastically hailed the outcome as a blow to "partizans of Rutgers College."¹¹ Continued success in the campaign against the new school seemed to prove beyond question that all just causes will eventually triumph. So at least believed Dr. J. Augustine Smith, of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, who on the occasion of a colleague's death concluded a long attack upon Hosack by stating:

I acknowledge that by puff and parade, by sounding his own praise and by hiring others to "swell the note," a man may acquire a certain kind of notoriety. This is particularly easy in medicine, from the acknowledged incompetency of the public to judge of medical men. But this mushroom-fame never lasts. In the end justice is sure to be done, and mankind, though imposed upon for a time, finally reduce the vain pretender to that obscurity from which he so improperly and frequently so surreptitiously emerged.¹²

Under such provocation, even a much less irritable man than Hosack must have replied.

Hosack regarded the attacks upon Rutgers Medical College as nothing more than the complaints of jealous rivals. Men, discontented with the prosperity of one with whom they had been unable to maintain successful competition, raked evidence together "from every kennel" to discredit their intellectual superior.¹³ If United States medical progress was to continue without interruption, such culprits must be defeated and Rutgers Medical College must be preserved to train students without interference by political authorities.¹⁴ Surely the New York legislature would not prescribe geographical limits to knowledge, Hosack wrote his agent in Albany, nor condemn

¹⁰ Hosack's long record of opposition to establishment of a second New York medical school was frequently used to discredit his effort to found a school independently following his resignation from the College of Physicians and Surgeons. The case was expressed most fully in *An Enquiry into the Present System of Medical Education*, by an Observer, Albany, 1830, pp. 11-13.

¹¹ *New York Medical and Physical Journal*, VI (June 1827), p. 320.

¹² J. Augustine Smith, "An Eulogium on the late Wright Post," in the *New York Medical and Physical Journal*, VII (September 1828), pp. 435-436.

¹³ David Hosack, *Inaugural Discourse at the opening of Rutgers Medical College*, New York, 1826, p. 35. This explanation of the opposition to Rutgers Medical College occurs again and again in Hosack's description of the crisis which led to the founding of his school.

¹⁴ See especially Remonstrance of Rutgers against the Regents, a communication accompanying a report of March 25, 1829 (*New York Senate No. 224*, April 4, 1829).

the city to existence as a mere marketplace, the home of Goths and vandals.¹⁵ Toward men whom he believed were destroying the educational opportunities of American youth, he refused to be tolerant. Such men were "tigers . . . ready to convert all to their selfish and savage gratification," Hosack told the first graduating class of the medical college.¹⁶ Professional gossips bent on reducing abler men to their own level should be given no quarter.¹⁷ The Doctor turned on his tormentors with such violence in parrying their attacks that he soon was sued for libel.¹⁸ The charge could not be considered seriously, however, for his critics were equally guilty in their abuse not only of Hosack himself but of all who had the courage to defend him.¹⁹

Outstanding among innocent victims of the quarrel over Rutgers Medical College was the distinguished physician, James Thacher. Author of excellent catalogues of American medical men and institutions, Thacher published his exhaustive *American Medical Biography* in 1828. This book, in the preparation of which Hosack had aided, included a brief but extremely favorable account of the origin and accomplishments of Rutgers Medical College.²⁰ Such a report did not escape the wrath of Hosack's opponents. In a lengthy review, at least half of which was devoted to vilification, Dr. Beck declared:

We had understood . . . that the events of the present day in medical politics, were to remain unnoticed. Dr. Thacher has, however, seen fit in several places to take the stand of a partisan—to deliver decisive and sweeping opinions on subjects at least admitting of discussion, and to judge concerning them in a manner certainly not according with the views of many of those, who, before this, have felt for him nothing but esteem and respect.²¹

¹⁵ David Hosack to Joseph Blount, February 25, 1827 (MS. in Rutgers University Library).

¹⁶ David Hosack to a Committee of Students, April 5, 1826, in David Hosack, *Observations on the Medical Character*, New York, 1826, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁸ Hosack wrote shortly after his graduation address of 1826, "I find I am prosecuted. Is it not possible to arrest their proceedings?" (David Hosack to Joseph Blount, February 19, 1827 MS. in RUL)

¹⁹ A group of New York physicians who backed Hosack were forced to deny that they were "refuse practitioners of other cities, whose cupidity, avarice and immoral conduct" had driven them to New York "as an ample theatre to try some new adventure." (*Proceedings of a Meeting of Physicians and Surgeons, Held at the Shakspeare Hotel, New York, 13th February, 1830*.)

²⁰ James Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, Boston, 1828, pp. vi, 55-56, 62-64. See also the favorable account in James Hardie, *The Description of the City of New-York*, 1827, pp. 278-280. This account may also have been influenced by Hosack, since the publishers reported that the late James Hardie had completed the volume only to p. 276 (*ibid.*, p. 347).

²¹ *New York Medical and Physical Journal*, VII (September 1828), p. 406.

Yet Thacher was not solely to blame that part of the account under New York was "pure fiction," that much of the remainder was "a downright insult," and that everything really creditable was purposely omitted.²² "Dr. Thacher never wrote this part of his history," the reviewer informed his readers, "and he has only fallen into this injustice by a misplaced confidence in . . . deceivers, who to bolster up a windy reputation, have been willing to sacrifice the character of this book, as well as that of its venerable author."²³ Friendship with Hosack and interest in the future of Rutgers Medical College had exposed Thacher to public abuse and by throwing doubt upon his impartiality now threatened the success of his book. Dr. Hosack, however, was inclined to belittle the effectiveness of Beck's attack. Writing on New Year's day in 1829 that Rutgers Medical College was "far exceeding all expectations," Hosack endeavored to strengthen Thatcher's confidence in the following note:

Your book is highly esteemed. Dr. Beck has reviewed it with his accustomed malevolence of spirit both natural and *acquired*, but his pages are read by few and even that number is daily diminishing, insomuch that the publisher and owner must discontinue the work. The subscribers are not sufficient to meet the expense. You therefore have nothing to apprehend, and let me add that there is not a pupil who leaves our school that is not duly impressed with the important services you have rendered the profession in your various publications.²⁴

In so expressing his gratitude, Hosack paid just tribute to Thacher, who had suffered because of friendship for him.

Similar thanks were also due the trustees of Rutgers College, who by consenting to grant degrees to Hosack's students likewise exposed themselves to attack. Physicians who wished to maintain New York medical instruction in the hands of a single school already had good reason to dislike Rutgers. As Queen's College, the institution had permitted Dr. Nicholas Romayne to award degrees both in 1792 and 1793 and from 1812 to 1816.²⁵ Now that Dr. Hosack had been granted a similar privilege, partisans of the College of Physicians condemned the New

²² *Ibid.*, p. 414.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 414, 416.

²⁴ David Hosack to James Thacher, January 1, 1829 (*MS.* in RUL).

²⁵ The details of relations between Romayne and Queen's College are excellently described in the early portions of Dr. Demarest's article (*op. cit.*).

Jersey college as a chronic troublemaker. But while Rutgers trustees were represented as over-desirous of receiving ten dollars from each graduate of Hosack's school,²⁶ a more fundamental explanation seemed necessary. In the opinion of Hosack and his colleagues, Rutgers acted from a desire to promote education in this country and to resist monopoly.²⁷ Search for a selfish motive, which might be employed to counteract such praise, was not particularly successful. In a long and bitter tirade accusing Rutgers of responsibility for the backwardness of American medicine, however, President Manley of the New York Medical Society hinted that intercollegiate rivalry might explain why Rutgers had frequently interfered. Not only the original grant of rights, to which he immediately referred, but the later episodes also were in mind when Manley declared:

What the motives were, of the trustees of Queen's College, in thus unceremoniously interfering with the academic concerns of this State, we are left to conjecture. It had always been a sickly institution, and stood in need, no doubt, of all the support it could obtain to enable it to compete with its sister at Princeton.²⁸

But if by any chance Rutgers trustees hoped to preserve the contest with Princeton through annual graduation fees from a New York medical school, they were bitterly disappointed. When the New York legislature refused to allow Rutgers to grant degrees in 1827, the college's connection with Hosack's institution ended; and three years later Rutgers Medical College itself succumbed, the victim of an implacable hatred of Hosack and his friends.

²⁶ *Transactions of the New York Medical Society, 1807-1831*, Albany, 1868, p. 399; and *An Enquiry (op. cit.)*, p. 9, e.g.

²⁷ See especially the speech of Dr. Macneven in David Hosack, *Inaugural Discourse*, pp. 168-169.

²⁸ *Transactions of the New York Medical Society*, p. 397.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE NEW BRUNSWICK STAGE

By ORAL SUMNER COAD

The manner in which a town amuses itself is usually a good index to the inner thoughts and outer opportunities of its citizens. In making a study of the New Brunswick stage from the Revolution to 1873 Dr. Coad reveals to us some of the means by which the people of the town and the students of Rutgers College prevented "Jack from being a dull boy." Dr. Coad, who has previously contributed to the Journal articles on Walt Whitman, is well known for his studies of the American theatre. Part Two will appear in June.

PART I

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR

DURING recent years the writing of American stage history has been a conspicuous phase of the recording of our cultural activity. From Boston to San Francisco and from Chicago to New Orleans the dramatic annals of our more important cities have been, or are being, set down by numerous competent investigators. Although such studies may be of limited interest in themselves, yet their contribution to a composite picture of American culture is indispensable. When the definitive history of the American stage comes to be written, New Brunswick will occupy a negligible position in its pages, for our town has made no substantial additions to the art. Nevertheless, the history of theatrical activity here is not without its significance, inasmuch as New Brunswick is essentially typical of many small Eastern cities which early manifested a pronounced religious bias, but which, with the passage of time, came more and more under the influence of the worldly metropolis in the matter of public amusements as well as in many other respects. Indeed, so far as I am aware, there is no such thing in print as the stage history of an average small American city; hence this account, which I hope eventually to bring down to our own time, may have a certain value. Furthermore it should be of interest to observe to what extent the students of a small Eastern college, in the era before New

York became so fatally accessible, were able to add to their general education through the ministrations of the stage.¹

The material for such an account must necessarily be drawn largely from the local newspapers, and fortunately the Rutgers Library has the most complete files of New Brunswick papers in existence. There are, to be sure, numerous gaps in the continuity, but a few serious omissions are made good by the collection of the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, and in consequence a reasonably complete story is possible.²

LAST QUARTER OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The earliest intimations that some interest in the stage existed in the little town on the Raritan, however, are gleaned not from the newspapers but from the manuscript records of the University. In the *Transactions of the Athenian Society from the year 1776 to 1786*³ are entered the weekly programs of the first literary society at Queen's College, programs made up in part of readings or recitations from various authors. The first meeting reported in the *Transactions*, that of May 29, 1776, was opened by Nicholas Lansingh, who spoke from Joseph Addison's tragedy, *Cato*, as did also Simeon Vanartsdal later in the evening. On June 12th James Schureman spoke from *Julius Caesar*, and from that time on few were the programs in which one or both of these dramas were not represented. On June 5, 1780, was delivered a dialogue between Brutus and Cassius (undoubtedly the famous quarrel scene) and on July 24, 1782, a scene from *Cato* involving four speakers. The obvious reason for the overwhelming popularity of these two plays—James Thomson's *Coriolanus* is the only other drama

¹ The word "stage," as used in this paper, means primarily dramatic performances; secondarily it means almost any kind of performance or exhibition for public amusement that takes place in a theatre, a hall, or even a tent. Lectures are excluded because their chief function is not amusement, and musical events are likewise omitted because an account of music in New Brunswick already exists. Cf. *Sunday Times*, Oct. 27, 1929.

² For this instalment the following newspapers have been examined: the *Political Intelligencer*, Oct. 14, 1783—Apr. 5, 1785; the *Brunswick Gazette*, and *Weekly Monitor*, July 10, 1787—May 10, 1791; the *Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser*, Nov. 7, 1792—Mar. 13, 1798, Nov. 6, 1801—Nov. 26, 1807; the *Times: and New-Brunswick General Advertiser*, June 1, 1815—May 15, 1823, May 19, 1824—May 17, 1826; the *New-Brunswick Fredonian* (weekly), June 26, 1811—May 2, 1827, May 2, 1838—Dec. 26, 1855; the *New-Brunswicker*, Jan. 15, 1855—Mar. 21, 1859; the *New-Brunswick Daily News*, Feb. 1, 1855—June 30, 1858; the *New-Brunswick Daily Fredonian*, Apr. 1, 1859—Dec. 31, 1860.

³ For a general account of this society, based on the *Transactions*, see Miss Mildred R. Woodward's delightful paper in the *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, December, 1939.

mentioned—is that both, by their impassioned denunciation of tyranny, struck home to the ardent patriotism of the students during the Revolution.

But the young gentlemen of Queen's were not to be content for long with mere declamations culled from their favorite plays. Less than a year after the quadrangular dialogue just mentioned the undergraduates had the honor of presenting to a New Brunswick audience the first full dramatic performance of which we have any evidence. In a show case in the Rutgers Library may be seen a small, age-browned slip of paper bearing this hand-written message:

The Students of Queens College
solicit the company of Dr. Ryker
and Lady at an exhibition of a
Tragedy on Wednesday 19th Instant
at 6 OClock in the Evening.—
Brunswick } Admittance will
7. March } be obtained by ths
1783. } Card.

If Dr. Ryker and Lady were curious concerning the name of the tragedy to which they had been invited, the present-day student fully shares their feeling but without the means of satisfaction that was available to them. They probably were not, however, dismayed by the hour of performance, as 6:00 or 6:15 was a fashionable time for the curtain to rise in New York. We cannot be sure that this was the first play ever acted by the local students, but it certainly represents no innovation so far as American colleges were concerned, for the practice was already known at William and Mary, the College of Philadelphia, Harvard, Yale, and probably other institutions.

The presenting of a dramatic program may have become, if it was not already, an annual affair at Queen's. At least we learn through the columns of the earliest New Brunswick newspaper, the *Political Intelligencer*, that two plays were given on March 31, 1784. The amusingly phrased news note in the issue of April 6th reads thus:

On Wednesday evening last the Tragedy of CATO and the Farce of the MOCK DOCTOR⁴ were exhibited by the young gentlemen of this place,

⁴ *Cato*, a favorite with American audiences, had been given by the students of William and Mary as early as 1736. *The Mock Doctor*, by Fielding, was likewise popular in America.

to the great satisfaction of every spectator—And, the evening following, a most brilliant entertainment was given at Whitehall [a tavern], where gaiety and mirth never more abounded, and after spending the night in a very agreeable society, about three o'clock in the morning retired to rest.

But such goings-on gave something quite other than satisfaction to at least one member of the community, who, employing the pseudonym of "Clericus," penned a tirade published in the *Political Intelligencer* of April 27th. This ironical gentleman, according to his letter, for several years past had expected to see "in some of our prints" an account of the public performances by the Queen's students,⁵ and at last he had been gratified. It had formerly been assumed by "Divines and Fanatics" that colleges were intended "solely to qualify persons for the practice of religion and virtue," but behold the lamentable change: "instead of virtuous men, the world is to be supplied with *Tragedians*; in the room of men of sense and learning, we must expect to see *Mock Doctors*; instead of humble christians, a race of *gay and merry lads*, a set of stout and hearty fellows, who, if day-light fails, can carouse all night, till three o'clock in the morning." In the issue of May 11th a correspondent who signed himself "Mock Doctor" and who was, or pretended to be, a farmer, heavily ridiculed "Clericus" for attempting to suppress the gaiety of youth. Two weeks later a pointless reply by "Clericus" was published and also an atrocious poem, whose anonymous author essayed the role of mediator by taking both disputants to task. Having characterized "Mock Doctor's" letter as "your lousy performance,"⁶ he continues:

And as for you, *Clericus*, it is my opinion,
Your heart is as black as the plan which you go on;
And that the reflections you cast on Queen's College,
Betray a base mind, and weakness of knowledge.

And finally the magnanimous conclusion:

Now pri'thee dear Doctor do take my advice,
Let ev'ry one see you still respect *Clericus*;
Let them see you have charity to forgive him betime,
But still think the performance of *Cato* no crime.⁷

⁵ If this statement is to be taken literally, it indicates that the "Tragedy" of 1783 was not the beginning of theatrical iniquity at the College.

⁶ Apparently modern collegiate slang is not always modern after all.

⁷ I am indebted to Dr. Rudolf Kirk for directing me to these items, which he had come upon in the New Jersey Historical Society's unique file of the *Political Intelligencer*.

It may be worth mentioning that two advertisements in the *Political Intelligencer* indicate the presence of some early readers of plays in New Brunswick. On December 30, 1783, appeared a list of second-hand books to be sold by the printer of the paper, including *As You Like It*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *King Henry VI*, *Coriolanus*, *King Lear*, and *Timon of Athens*; and on September 14, 1784, a similar list, including Sheridan's *The Critic* and Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*.

There is no evidence that the performances at Queen's and the printed plays created any demand among the citizenry for further theatrical exhibitions, either amateur or professional. Indeed the data provided by our incomplete newspaper files make it clear that the local appetite for "shows," eschewing the more elegant but perhaps more sinful drama, was for years thereafter quite content with animal exhibitions, acrobatic feats, and wax works. The first of these exhibitors of whom we hear was one Mr. Cressin, who, on November 24, 1795, displayed at the Barracks "the two most surprising Animals that ever existed." Adults twenty-five cents, children half price. A cut accompanying the advertisement in the *Guardian* shows a monkey on a tightrope, no doubt the Jacco or Coco who was amusing New York audiences about this time with the aid of Gibbone, his simian footman.⁸ On July 25, 1797, an African lion, measuring eight feet from nostril to tail and weighing 450 pounds, was on view.

FIRST QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Much more promising than any attraction so far advertised was that announced as follows on August 5, 1802: "MR. ROBERTSON and Company from Astley's Amphitheatre, London, and late of the Theatre New-York; whose astonishing performances, have given such universal satisfaction in this country, respectfully inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of New-Brunswick and its Vicinity, that they intend gratifying their curiosity for a few nights with a general display of EQUESTRIAN PERFORMANCES"—in the Gaol Yard. Not the least impressive item in the notice is the price scale: boxes, one dollar; pit, seventy-five cents.

⁸ See G. C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, I (1927), 368, 397. Most of my subsequent references to the New York stage are based on this monumental work.

One would like to know what Mr. McGinnis actually did when he exhibited "his wonderful powers in PHILOSOPHICAL EXPERIMENTS AND DECEPTIONS" on December 1, 1803. Probably he merely gave a demonstration of sleight-of-hand. At any rate his program concluded with "OTHELLO, THE AFRICAN EQUILIBREST'S FEATS ON THE SLACK WIRE." And if we are curious as to the sort of entertainment offered by the "Phantasmagoria" advertised on January 5, 1804, which had been "received with great applause in London, and New-York," we gain no enlightenment from the newspaper notice. We can, however, turn to Dr. Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage*⁹ and discover that the *Evening Post* described the "Phantasmagoria" as a mechanism that introduced "the Phantoms of Apparitions of the Dead and Absent, in a way more completely illusive, than has ever yet been witnessed, as the objects freely originate in the air, and unfold themselves under various forms and sizes . . . occasionally assuming a figure and most perfect resemblance of the heroes . . . of past and present times." The announcement of this marvelous device in the *Guardian* contains a sentence that will bear pondering: "The proprietors respectfully acquaint those ladies and gentlemen who may be desirous to see it, and to whom it would be disagreeable to attend a public performance, that it will be exhibited to select parties, by giving timely notice." Was this shrinking from public performances, which the proprietors had learned to expect in towns like New Brunswick, social or moral? Whichever it was, it might well have served as a deterrent to the drama. Apparently no such private arrangements were considered necessary for the New Museum of Wax Work, which opened on December 12, 1805, at Ezekiel Ayers' Tavern, for its life-size figures of Columbus, Washington, and Jefferson, of Hamilton and Burr fighting their fatal duel, and even of Othello and Desdemona in a scene from the play, were probably regarded as educational and improving.

For these early years of the nineteenth century our record must needs be meagre and unsatisfactory, partly because the newspaper files are incomplete, partly because some exhibitors probably advertised by hand-bills alone, and partly because

⁹ II, 206-207.

there is good reason to believe that few shows and fewer plays—pretty certainly no professional ones—were being presented in New Brunswick at this time. We can merely note that on November 7, 1811, the New Museum of Wax Work returned to town for a stay of about two weeks at Peter Keenon's Tavern with such additions to its display as the marriage of Bonaparte to Maria Louisa, the death of Lord Nelson, and “AN INDIAN WARRIOR Exercising his barbarity upon two young Captives;” and that on May 28, 1812, a living elephant, weighing 4700 pounds and standing about eight feet high, was to be seen for a quarter, also at Keenon's Tavern.

Drama uncertainly re-enters the account under date of April 10, 1818, when the Academy of New Brunswick gave, at the Dutch Church, an exhibition consisting of speeches, dialogues, and three plays. How so much could have been crowded into a single program and how the performance of plays was permitted in the church, it is difficult to see, but the notice distinctly reads: “the following pieces will be acted—*Douglas, the Natural Son, and the Death of Hector.*” Perhaps the acting consisted of the presentation in colloquy form of a few excerpts from the plays.¹⁰ An approximation of drama was also provided by Mr. Ingersoll of New York, a teacher of elocution, who, on September 14, 1820, at the Swan Tavern, gave a program of readings that included Antony's soliloquy over Caesar's body, Antony's funeral oration, and Hamlet's “To be or not to be” soliloquy.

But the wonders of the animal world probably continued to bring in many more quarters than these histrionic attempts. At any rate another elephant was displayed on May 15 and 16, 1818, a highly educated female, who would lie down and get up at command and who would draw the cork from a bottle and drink the contents. And for a period of three weeks beginning about August 29, 1822, the townspeople could repair to David Smith's Tavern and marvel at “THE LEVIATHAN, OR, WONDERFUL SEA SERPENT, Lately caught at Brown's Point, New-Jersey.” This “greatest curiosity ever exhibited in America” was thirty-two feet, ten inches long and eighteen feet in girth. It possessed two legs, three large

¹⁰ The first two are familiar dramas by John Home and Richard Cumberland, respectively; the third, which I do not identify, may itself be an excerpt.

fins, a forked tail, and six rows of teeth in each jaw; it had no bones, no heart, no tongue, no brain, but from its large liver about four barrels of oil had been extracted. Its skin was rough and of a leadish color, and the creature was in a good state of preservation.

If public exhibitions in New Brunswick were not numerous, they were at least varied. Anyone who was disturbed by the presence of drama within the church or who had a soul above bibulous elephants and pickled sea-serpents, could visit the College about the middle of October, 1824, and for twenty-five cents contemplate a large painting, twelve by eighteen feet, of "Christ Rejected," depicting the Savior, bound and crowned with thorns, standing before Pilate, while the multitude demanded His death. This picture, one of numerous large canvases being shown about the country, was the work of William Dunlap, a Jersey-born artist of moderate ability, who gained considerable note in his day.

It may be relevant to point out that at this time there resided in the town a man by the name of Sol Smith, who was to become one of the most prominent figures in the theatrical history of the Ohio and Mississippi Valley. He had already appeared repeatedly on the "Western" stages, but with scant results financially; consequently in 1823 or 1824 he migrated with his family to New Brunswick, where his wife, the former Martha Therese Mathews, whom he had married in Cincinnati, had been born.¹¹ Here the Smiths, both of whom had considerable musical ability, gave a vocal concert, and here Sol served for a time as editor of the *Fredonian* while the regular editor, Mr. Fitz-Randolph, was absent because of his duties as State Senator. When, as occasional organist in the Episcopal Church, he made it clear that he could read music, he was urged to open a singing school. This he declined doing, but he compromised by assembling a group of twenty-four singers and training them to present an oratorio, in which his wife took the principal soprano part. The performance cleared upwards of a hundred dollars at twenty-five cents a ticket. In his sprightly autobiography, *Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years* (1868), Smith makes this revealing comment: "It must be remembered that no one had

¹¹ Mrs. Smith later gained some celebrity as an actress on the Western circuit.

any idea that I was connected with *the stage*. If they had known I was an actor, my reception and treatment in New Brunswick would most likely have been widely different."¹²

SECOND QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

That Sol Smith had rightly interpreted the feeling of many people here toward the theatre is forcefully suggested by an editorial pronouncement in the *Fredonian* of September 27, 1826: "It is *complained*, by the friends of the Drama, that the theatre is not well supported in Albany. This fact, so far from being complained of, will, we imagine, be deemed a very *creditable* trait in the character of the Albanians, by a large class of society." Do we not have here at least a partial explanation of the dearth of plays in New Brunswick during this period?

If further evidence is desired, it may be found in the *Fredonian* of January 24, 1827, which published an advertisement of "HADDOCK'S EXHIBITION OF ANDROIDES, or Animated Automatons"—seemingly precursors of the modern robot. In this announcement Mr. Haddock "states, *with confidence*, that there is no religious persuasion whatever, need apprehend censure by visiting this exhibition, there being nothing in it that can possibly offend morality or religion."

A serious break in the files of the *Fredonian* extends from May, 1827, to May, 1838. When information once more becomes available, one discovers that drama is as inconspicuous as before but that New Brunswick amusement-seekers are taking to the circus with enthusiasm. On October 19, 1838, a menagerie from the New York Zoological Institute, containing "a greater variety than any heretofore offered," was displayed "near the College." On May 22 and 23, 1840, the Victory Arena and Great Western Circus presented an equestrian show. The advertisement convinces us that the stylistic peculiarities of present day circus announcements were invented long ago, witness these superlatives: "This Exhibition is not only the largest now travelling, but is fitted up in a style surpassing in splendor and magnificence all former ones of the kind ever offered to an enlightened public."

Messrs. Knowlton and Henry probably came measurably

¹² See *op. cit.*, 34-40, for his account of his sojourn in New Brunswick.

near to a dramatic performance when, on December 17, 1840, they gave at Strong's Hotel a "chaste and intellectual entertainment" of recitations and readings in character from eminent authors—with great applause, we hope.

But we cannot doubt that the Columbian Circus was greeted on October 7, 1842, with vast acclaim. Even the most puritanical citizen must have been lured to the show grounds at the foot of Albany Street by the managers' promise that "their exhibition shall be a place of innocent and rational amusement. No violation of decorum—nothing to mantle the cheek of modesty shall be permitted." Of how many circuses we are denied the vicarious enjoyment by a further break in the files of the *Fredonian* we cannot say, but immediately following the hiatus we learn of an impending visit by Welch's (or Welsh's) National Circus from the Olympian Amphitheatre, Philadelphia, on May 19, 1847. It boasted a popular clown, Dan Rice, a variety of equestrian acts involving some impersonation, a "superb *Water Proof Pavilion*" capable of seating 3,000 persons, and a portable gas system for night use. It too assured the public that "nothing approaching a shade of vulgarity can find its way among the choice representations of the Arena."

A real novelty was offered at the City Hall on November 19, 1847, when twelve Iowa and Konzas Indians gave a demonstration of their tribal dances, games, ceremonies, war whoops, war songs, and so forth, the whole accompanied by a lecture. Also at the City Hall on January 18 and 19, 1848, Signor Jerome Blitz, a well known entertainer of the time, presented feats of natural magic and several humorous scenes in ventriloquism. In the same room on April 19th of the same year, occurred a performance by the United States Ethiopian Minstrels that must stand somewhere near the beginning of an endless line of similar entertainments in New Brunswick. This is the first burnt-cork show of which I find any evidence in the newspapers, but the advertisement describes it as a repetition; so other programs of negro minstrelsy may have been recorded in the lost issues of the *Fredonian*. This was but a small company of only six performers, but the paper of April 26th pronounced the singing excellent. An interesting side-light on the manners of the younger generation is cast by this injunction

contained in the announcement: "No boys will be admitted except accompanied by their parents."

April 27, 1848, brought Howe (or Howes, the newspapers being unable to decide which) and Company's Great United States Circus to town with 240 men and horses, a troupe of Bedouin Arab riders, eight equestriennes, a band of gymnasts, and a pantomime, *Harlequin's Frolics, or Mistakes of a Night*, to conclude the evening performance. A feature not mentioned in previous circus advertisements was a "Grand Procession and Spectacle" between 10:00 and 11:00 A.M.

And in the fall of this year two more circuses. On October 21st Sands, Lent and Company's American Circus and Hippoferaean Arena arrived in town at 11:00 A.M. "in procession and cavalcade" with a show including a "mammoth" troupe of equestrians and animals, a pair of trained elephants named Jenny Lind and Romeo, and ten Egyptian camels. On November 9th came Van Amburgh and Company's Menagerie, entering in the morning from Somerville with 100 dapple gray horses drawing the carriages and cages, while at the pavilion Miss Calhoun and Mr. Brooks gave "an interesting illustration of the ascendancy of intellect over the wild tenants of the forest."

The next year, 1849, saw the introduction of a new form of entertainment, the moving diorama; at least I have found no previous mention of it in the New Brunswick papers, although it was known in New York as early as 1828. The moving diorama was a device by which a series of painted scenes could be shown in rapid succession to create the illusion of passing the objects depicted. The Burning of Moscow, thus represented on May 26th, 28th, and 29th, became a favorite in New Brunswick and returned again and again during the ensuing years despite competition by numerous other dioramas. In fact the next panorama to visit the city arrived only about five weeks later, subject being Asia and Africa, and within another week appeared a third, picturing the Funeral of Napoleon.

1850

Only a single circus had come to town in 1849; three came in 1850. Of these Spalding and Rogers' North American Circus, which exhibited on April 24th, alone calls for comment because

of two unusual features: an "Appolonicon" combining, so the announcement averred, over 1,000 distinct musical instruments under the control of one man and drawn in the public procession by forty horses; and a complete dramatic corps presenting the patriotic drama, *The Spirit of '76*. The Campbell Minstrels, advertising themselves as the oldest minstrel company in existence, and proudly declaring that they were the "Authors of their own Music, Dances, Lectures, &c.," gave a performance on August 22nd. And in still another form stage entertainment was available this year in a series of Shakespearean readings at the City Hall by the favorably known John W. S. Hows, Professor of Elocution at Columbia College, presented under the auspices of the Rutgers students. On November 8th he read *The Merchant of Venice*, on November 18th *Macbeth*, and on November 23rd *Much Ado About Nothing*. Commenting on the second reading, the *Fredonian* stated that it was heard by a large and attentive audience, and that the play was excellently rendered on the whole, in many passages thrillingly so.

1851-1852

During the next two years circuses continued to provide almost the only amusements to be advertised in New Brunswick, save for one minstrel program by the New Orleans Serenaders on June 16, 1851. Welch's Circus, on its visit of May 8, 1851, included among its attractions a "Dramatique Corps," which was presumably responsible for the "Grand Romantic Legendary Spectacle of St. George & the Dragon." On the 24th of the same month came Barnum's Asiatic Caravan, Museum and Menagerie, presenting to the view a collection of wild animals, a group of about seventy life-size wax statues, the original Tom Thumb, an armless man, a lion tamer, and a minstrel troupe. The advertiser's statement that the pavilion containing this exhibition would hold 15,000 people must surely be regarded as a Barnumism. A third circus this year was Turner's on September 26th, which modestly asserted that its equestrian troupe was "without its superior in the known world." Robinson and Eldred's Circus, which exhibited on May 29, 1852, interests us chiefly because it announced a dramatic spectacle of *Cinderella, or the Little*

Glass Slipper, performed by twenty-five children, the oldest being fifteen years of age, and the youngest eighteen months. Welch's returned on October 21st and at the close of the evening program presented a drama called *Marion and his Men* with a full cast, scenery, and costumes.

1853

The only tent-show to appear in 1853—at least the only one to advertise in the *Fredonian*—was a combination of Driesbach's Menagerie and Rivers, Derious and Company's Circus. For our purpose the notable feature of their exhibition was not Herr Driesbach's daring entry into a den of lions and tigers, but the performance of *Mazeppa*, with which the evening was closed. *Mazeppa*, based on Byron's poem, was an equestrian drama involving a desperate ride by the hero, who is bound by his enemies to the back of a wild horse. The play was extremely popular in the equestrian theatres, especially when the part of the scantily-clad horseman was taken by the beautiful and notorious Ada Isaacs Menken. It was not she, however, who played the rôle in New Brunswick on June 29th. As a matter of fact this performance must have been brief for lack of time, stressing mainly the wild ride.

From the point of view of amusement-lovers the most significant event to occur in New Brunswick in 1853 was the opening of Greer's Hall. Hitherto indoor entertainments had been obliged to resort to the City Hall or a large room in a tavern, but on November 9th George Greer, a local baker, announced that he had fitted up a large, new, handsome hall at 197 Burnet Street, which was then in the heart of the business district. It was equipped with a stage and a curtain that could be raised and lowered, and it had a seating capacity of 448.¹³ Despite its very limited accommodations Greer's Hall was a great improvement over anything the city had possessed before; it at once began exerting a stimulating effect on the

¹³ This figure is given in an advertisement of Horace Greeley's lecture in the *Fredonian* of Feb. 4, 1867. The hall, which was on the second floor of the building, measured about fifty by sixty-eight feet, if we may trust a reference to it in the *Fredonian's* description of the new Masonic Hall in the issue of November 22, 1873. V. S. Voorhees made the surprising statement in a letter published in the *Daily Times* of April 9, 1903, that, at the time, Greer's was considered the finest and most spacious hall in the State. Could this be correct? Mr. Alexander S. Graham, who attended performances there in its latter days, remembers it as merely a bare room with wooden benches.

quantity of entertainment available, and for the next twenty years it was the sole public hall of any importance in the town. Not the least of its services was to provide a sizable room in which prominent lecturers could speak, and during its active career its walls echoed to the words of such distinguished men and women as Bayard Taylor, John B. Gough, Lucy Stone, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, P. T. Barnum, Wendell Phillips, T. DeWitt Talmage, Olive Logan, and Josh Billings.

1854

At once Greer's Hall was requisitioned for various musical events, and early in 1854 it began housing theatrical performances as well. The first of these was provided by Old Duke Morgan's Ethiopian Minstrels, who came to financial grief on January 24th and 25th through the meagreness of their audiences. But immediately on the heels of Old Duke Morgan came the first traveling dramatic company ever to visit New Brunswick, so far as my sources of information indicate. This troupe, which was under the proprietorship of one Keenan, must have been a very minor one, for its advertisement boasts of its unprecedented success in Trenton, Burlington, Mount Holly, and Norristown. Arriving on Tuesday, January 31st, it played each evening for the rest of the week, offering, with commendable consistency, an uninterrupted fare of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Mrs. Stowe's novel having come out less than two years before. The announcement stressed a series of tableaux depicting such scenes as "the Escape of Eliza," "the Trappers Entrapped," "the Death of Uncle Tom," and "Eva in Heaven," from which we gather that the slender scenic and dramatic resources of the actors forced them to resort to motionless stage pictures whenever possible. Our worst suspicions concerning this troupe are confirmed by an editorial in the *Fredonian* of February 15th, warning all printers against "Keenan's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin Company,'" which left New Brunswick without paying its printer's bill, besides narrowly escaping jail for violating an unspecified city ordinance. Not an auspicious beginning for drama in the new auditorium.

July 19th saw the first of an incredibly long series of moving panoramas to be unfolded at Greer's Hall. This one dealt with Niagara Falls, representing the region from over two hundred

points of view and in all seasons. To dispose at once of the subject of panoramas, it will be sufficient to state that among the themes presented by later exhibitions were: Arctic Searches, the Bombardment of Sebastopol, the Mormons, China and Australia, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, a Voyage to Italy, Scenes from the Revolution, the Russian War, the Mexican War, the Mississippi River, Illustrations from the Bible, a Pilgrimage through Egypt and the Holy Land, the American Rebellion, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Oriental Life, the Dawn of Christianity, Dante's *Inferno*, and the Drunkard's Progress. The most extensive of these was probably that depicting Oriental life, which advertised about 70,000 square feet of canvas. The pictures were always serious and instructive and were frequently accompanied by an explanatory lecture, but sometimes the evening was lightened by the addition of ventriloquism.

That public amusements were still somewhat suspect in certain quarters in New Brunswick is shown by an editorial published in the *Fredonian* of December 12, 1854. Therein the writer took his fellow-townsmen to task for their failure to attend a recent lecture by a visiting clergyman although they would flock to a minstrel show or a sleight-of-hand performance, thus neglecting a teacher "who leaves something really valuable behind him, instead of something which is worse than useless."

1855

But despite this commentator's disapproval of such light-minded pleasures, at least one sleight-of-hand performance and seven minstrel shows were offered at Greer's Hall during 1855. Only one of the minstrel bands, Wilkinson and Vanderburgh's Excelsior Southern Burlesque and Opera Troupe, which performed on November 5th and 6th, need detain us. The interest lies in the word "burlesque," its first appearance in New Brunswick announcements, so far as I have observed. Perhaps it is not necessary to explain that the term as here used had a different connotation from that of today. Then as now a burlesque was a take-off, not, however, in the Gypsy Rose Lee sense, but in the sense of a travesty on some popular play, opera, or story.

Probably the above editorial writer would not have applied his strictures to Morton's Grand National Dramatic Troupe, which presented the "moral Drama" of *The Drunkard* on March 5th, with *A Phenomenon in a Smock Frock* as a farcical afterpiece. The company remained for a week, presenting, among its other plays, *A Glance at New York*, *The Stranger*, adapted from Kotzebue's *Menschenbass und Reue*, J. M. Morton's *Box and Cox*, and Garrick's *Katharine and Petruchio*, based on *The Taming of the Shrew*. The *New-Brunswicker* of March 9th described these actors as better than the average that visited the city—a remark which suggests that the present record of previous theatrical visitations is not complete.

The most conspicuous form of amusement available to the populace during 1855, however, was the circus. On April 26th arrived Howes' Menagerie in conjunction with Myers and Madigan's Circus, advertising an impressive list of wild animals, not excepting a giraffe and a rhinoceros. May 17th brought Welch and Lent's Circus, which ended its performance with a pantomime, *The Miser of Bagdad*. Rivers and Derious' Grecian Circus with its trained Russian bears and a new comic afterpiece appeared on September 10th, and the very next day came the circus of the popular clown, Dan Rice, which featured an elephant that walked the tight rope and a pair of educated mules. Mention should be made, too, of Seymour and Company's Indian Exhibition that, on August 16th, offered a representation of the manners and customs of the Red Men with the aid of eighty men and horses. This forerunner of the Wild West show failed to impress the *Fredonian*. "No great shakes," was its comment the next day.

1856

That Greer's Hall was attracting professional actors to New Brunswick is attested by two visits from the Newark Theatre Dramatic Company early in 1856. On January 31st and February 1st and 2nd this troupe, which, according to the *New-Brunswicker* had been playing in Newark for the past five or six months with great success, presented the inevitable *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The players were well enough liked to gain a return engagement of two weeks beginning on March 4th, during which "the young American Tragedian," William Henderson,

was featured. The program of the first night consisted of *Ingo-mar, the Barbarian*, based upon the German of F. Halm, and *The Omnibus*; the second night *The Stranger* and *The Stage Struck Lawyer* were given; while the third night saw *Othello* and *The Good for Nothing*. By this time, the newspaper assures us, the players were creating quite a sensation, their company being described as the best ever to visit the city. After *Uncle Tom's Cabin* again on the 7th, the Newark troupe presented on the 8th a bill the details of which we know from a program preserved in the Rutgers Library. It was as follows: the popular *Don Caesar de Bazan* in three acts, adapted from the French, a dance by Miss S. Bishop, a song by Mr. D. Myron, another song by Little Lavina Bishop, and *Jack Sheppard* in five acts, based on Harrison Ainsworth's novel—all for twenty-five cents. The curtain rose at 7:30. "Front Seats strictly reserved for Ladies." *Richard III* was the drama on March 10th, the farce being *The Rough Diamond*, and the next evening began a series of benefit performances for the actors in true metropolitan style. The benefit plays included such ephemeral pieces as C. W. Taylor's *Little Katy*,—*the Hot Corn Girl*, *Black-Eyed Susan*, *The Carpenter of Rouen* by the American J. S. Jones, and *The Toodles*, written by the comedian, W. E. Burton.

The *New-Brunswicker* was warm in its praise of the company. On the 13th it remarked that the Newark Theatre had been "more successful than any other kind of amusement in this city," and that every performance had played to a paying audience. The reason was "the excellency of their personations, correct reading, and the skill in putting plays upon the stage, together with good scenic displays." And on the 17th the troupe was commended for its freedom from gross language and indecent allusions "that have been the usual accompaniments of theatrical exhibitions in times past." On the contrary, this troupe has desired to redeem the stage from the condemnation it has in great measure heretofore deserved. Clearly suspicion of the stage died hard in New Brunswick.

On May 9th Greer's Hall was graced by the presence of none other than General Tom Thumb, who held two "grand Levees," at which he gave "personifications" of noted statuettes in appropriate costume and displayed his cabinet of

“bijoutry.” He impressed the *New-Brunswicker* as being full of humor and as resembling “an old looking young one.”

The year brought a total of five circuses, the second being Spalding and Rogers’ New Railroad Circus, so called because it was conveyed by railroad cars, and not by wagons, from town to town. Presumably this procedure was something of an innovation in 1856. Its advantage, as stated in the advertisement, was that the performers arrived fresh and rested instead of being bedraggled and tired from all-night traveling over rough roads. Considering the frequency of circuses hereabouts, one easily credits the statement in the *New-Brunswicker* of April 29th that “the population of New-Brunswick and the neighborhood are great on all such entertainments”—including minstrel shows, it might have added, for at least nine such were offered in 1856.

1857

The panic of this year considerably curtailed New Brunswick’s amusement calendar. After the comparative riches of 1856 the theatre-goers no doubt agreed with an editorial note in the *Daily News* of September 25th, commenting on a minstrel show of the previous evening: “It is so long since an entertainment of any kind has been offered to our citizens that any troupe however commonplace would have been warmly welcomed.” Nevertheless, whether in spite of or because of the depression, negro minstrelsy broke all local records with a score of eleven programs for the year. Notable among the visiting Ethiopians were Christy’s famous comedians, who, performing here for the first time, announced two “Chaste and Fashionable Musical Soirees” for February 23rd and 24th. The townspeople turned out to the capacity of the hall. The only other events of 1857 worth mentioning were two evenings of the Chinese Artists and Jugglers, two programs by Signor Blitz, the magician, and the arrival of Sands, Nathans and Company’s Circus, which offered another performance of *Mazeppa* in full costume and with a “splendid cast.”

1858

The amusements of 1858, like those of the previous year, were few and unimportant, perhaps as a continuing result of

the depression. Minstrel shows and circuses were still nearly the sole attractions, but the former fell off sharply in number, while the latter increased. Moreover black-face entertainers apparently had obstacles to contend with, judging from the announcement of Pierce's Company, which visited the town on January 9th: "To prevent the noise of boys, there will be no half price, and an officer in attendance." The circuses at this time were putting special stress on theatrical features. For instance Sands, Nathans and Company advertised a comic afterpiece, *Love and the Baboon*, in connection with their performance of April 29th; Ball and Company's Gymnasium and Amphitheatre, exhibiting on July 29th, included portions of a minstrel program; on September 30th Rivers and Derious' Gymnastic, Acrobatic, Ballet, and Dramatic Establishment stressed a dramatic spectacle, *The War in India, or the Siege of Lucknow*, with the aid of music, costume, and properties.

Mild curiosity is aroused by Beale's Panopticon of India and the Sepoy Rebellion, which was shown for a week in May, and which employed not paintings but finished models that could "do anything but talk." The display involved much movement of troops and ships, but the *New-Brunswicker* of the 25th was especially impressed by a horse that licked its wounded leg, nuzzled its fallen master, shuddered, and fell dead. And perhaps one would have been casually diverted by Mr. and Mrs. D. Clinton Price's Drawing Room Entertainment, with the aid of George Wrenn, comedian, on June 28th, which, though composed of music, dancing, and impersonation, was described by the *Daily News* as a real novelty, in which Mr. Wrenn would represent a fast young man in search of a wife, and Mrs. Price would delineate eleven characters and introduce seven fancy dances.

1859

The year began ponderously though undramatically on February 28th with an "Exhibition of Wonders," consisting of a young woman weighting 750 pounds and a "living skeleton," who tipped the scales at thirty-seven and a half. More grace and beauty were provided on May 14th by the Cinderella Children, a troupe of juvenile dancers and pantomimists, employing appropriate properties, tricks, and transformations,

with which they had recently won a success at Niblo's Garden, New York. Two days later William P. Fitzsimmons, described as a character actor and humorist, gave a one-man show with scenery and costumes, called "The Seven Ages of Man," for the benefit of the Liberty Hose Company, a volunteer fire brigade. Unfortunately the performer proved to be such a humbug that many left before the program was finished.

After another lapse of two days the Dramatic Lyceum Company began an engagement of two weeks. Among the members of this troupe were J. V. Bowes, Colin Stewart, P. C. Bryne, J. C. De Forest, Amelia Harris, and Virginia Vaughen. The players were described as having been selected from some of the principal theatres of New York, but as a matter of fact, according to Odell's exhaustive *Annals*, only one of them, J. C. De Forest, had appeared in the metropolis. The New Brunswick repertory included *The Stranger*, Bulwer-Lytton's *The Lady of Lyons*, John Howard Payne's *Thérèse, the Orphan of Geneva*, adapted from the French, *The Felon's Fate*, *The Drunkard*, *The Toodles*, J. M. Morton's *All That Glitters Is Not Gold*, and Moncrieff's version of Irving's *The Spectre Bridegroom*. The *Fredonian* of May 18th was sure the company would tolerate nothing that could offend the most fastidious taste. Its moral and artistic merits were sufficient to win for it a further engagement of one night on June 9th, when it presented a generous bill of three plays: *The Momentous Question*, *Crossing the Line*, and *Jemmy Twitcher in France*.

After the usual profusion of minstrel shows, two or three circuses, and an evening with Wyman, the wizard and ventriloquist, the year closed with a display on December 22nd of a "Chinese Walking and Speaking Automaton," standing seven feet, six inches high, and with a visit on December 29th, 30th, and 31st from Dolly Dutton, who, with her twenty-six inches and her thirteen pounds, had some claim to the title of the "smallest girl in the world." Dolly sang songs and danced the polka at each of her "levees."

1860

Better times were reflected in the stage activities of 1859 and equally in those of 1860. Among the varied attractions of the latter year were Professor W. H. Donaldson, necromancer,

Chinese juggler, and ventriloquist, on February 3rd and 4th, and Deliah Mossco, Egyptian wizard, ventriloquist, and "fire king of the four elements," on December 10th; also, on April 30th, M. Bihin, a French giant of seven feet, eight and a half inches, who spoke several ancient and modern languages with ease and fluency, and, in striking contrast, General Tom Thumb, who, on November 22nd and 23rd, rode in a miniature carriage drawn by Lilliputian ponies from the City Hotel to Greer's Hall, where he gave his programs of songs, dances, and imitations. Inevitably there were performances by a number of minstrel troupes (six, to be exact), and three circuses visited town, notable among them being William Cooke's Royal Amphitheatre, a splendid equestrian aggregation from London and New York, on June 15th. And for two weeks or more at the end of June and the beginning of July the Bohemian Glass Blowers drew good audiences by their interesting art and by the blown glass prizes they distributed.

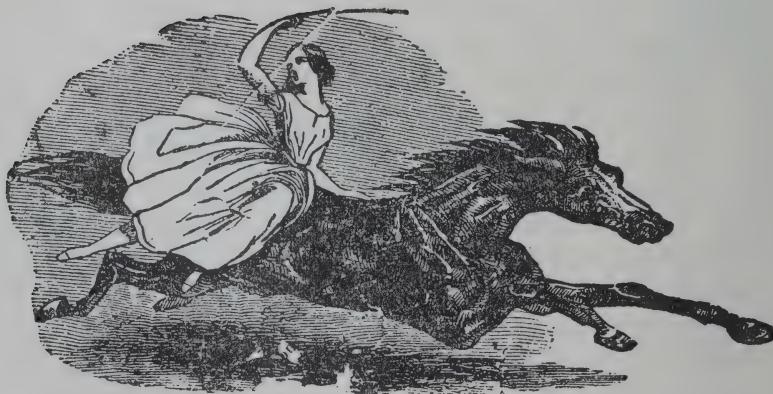
More strictly dramatic fare was provided from May 8th to 19th by the De Forrest Dramatic Association, "late of Barnum's Museum, N. Y.," under the direction of J. C. De Forrest, evidently the gentleman with one *r* in his name of the previous year. Its leading lady was Charlotte Thompson, "late of the 'Varieties,' New Orleans," and its comedian was James Lewis, whom one would like to identify, probably erroneously, with the James Lewis who later became the favorite comic actor of Augustin Daly's Company in New York. The bills of the Association were made up largely of such stand-bys as *The Lady of Lyons*, *Ingomar*, *The Spectre Bridegroom*, and *His Last Legs*, but it also produced a few novelties, conspicuously Dumas' *Camille* on May 11th, Charlotte Thompson taking the part in which Matilda Heron had achieved a sensational success at Wallack's Theatre three years before. The only indication of the reception given De Forrest's actors is the statement in the *Fredonian* of May 10th that the audiences the first two nights were good, but not good enough to remunerate the managers, which is understandable, since even a full hall at the advertised price of twenty-five cents a seat would bring in only a very modest sum.

Probably the most unusual dramatic event of 1860 was a performance on October 27th by the Great North American

Indian Troupe (real redskins, we are assured) of a play called *Pocahontas*, as a part of their program of varied entertainment.

Thus ends the account of New Brunswick amusements before the Civil War. The record is in a sense disappointing inasmuch as it contains no names truly distinguished in the ante-bellum theatre of America. But with the very modest accommodations the town afforded perhaps that could scarcely be expected. At least there was an increasing demand for such amusements as could be provided for, and this demand led to better things before many more years had passed.

(Part II will be published in the Spring issue of the JOURNAL.)



Courtesy of Dr. Frederick L. Brown

*From the New Brunswick, New Jersey Union
September 5, 1850*

MADEMOISELLE LOUISE

*“The only Equestrienne who has ever appeared in America,
who rides without saddle or bridle.”*

THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS

The Annual Report of the Librarian is printed as a part of the *President's Report* and is usually read only by the few souls whose business requires them to know something of the yearly work of the University. Since parts of the Report may interest members of the Associated Friends, we are reprinting here a few excerpts which throw particular light on the policies by which the Library is guided.

It may be of some interest to the readers of this report to include in it a statement as to the manner in which the University Library is administered and the results of its methods. Our practices are based on several main beliefs: (1) That the creation of a reading habit is as important in the educative process as teaching. (2) That books which remain on library shelves have only potential value; they have actual value only when they have been borrowed and are being read and studied. (3) That good will on the part of members of the staff and users of the Library is one of the main assets of a library. (4) That the undergraduates should be given the same opportunity to use the material in the Library that is given the faculty and graduate students.

The Library is very active and much used. Out of a library registration of 5567, the attendance on full days (15 hours) is from 1500 to 1900 persons. Ninety per cent of the entire group of undergraduate men and 98% of the Senior Class in addition to assigned library reading or reading of books on "reserve," voluntarily borrow books for outside use, and although the students of the New Jersey College for Women have a library on their own campus, 48.9% of them borrow books from the University Library. In addition to the undergraduate students, the Library is used by all members of the Faculty of the University, and by a large number of persons not connected with the University—educators, industrialists, scientists, New Jersey state officers and many others. . . .

The increase in catalogued books has been as follows: (1) University Library 10,123, (2) The Library of the New Jersey College for Women 4501, (3) The Agricultural Library 550, (4) The Library of the College of Pharmacy 300. These increases make the total number of catalogued books at the University 324,802. In addition to the catalogued books, there is in the University Library a great number of unbound items which if bound and catalogued, would bring the holdings of the Library to more than 500,000. There are also in the Library 150,000 to 200,000 manuscripts of various kinds. The small cataloguing staff of the University Library in addition to cataloguing new accessions has recatalogued 4713 books. . . .

In determining the amount of money that should be expended for library material, it should be remembered that, as all production in any field is

based on the printed record of previous accomplishments, adequate library material is needed just as much in times of war as in times of peace, and, also, it is as necessary to provide material for study in non-technical subjects, such as literature and history, as it is to provide for technical subjects, such as chemistry and engineering. The great majority of university students will enter non-technical fields, even though for some time they may go into military service, and they should be given every opportunity to prepare themselves for their chosen life work. It is interesting to note that in England and in other warring countries of Europe, the production of scholarly books in all subjects is continuing in spite of the war.

New Members of the Associated Friends

R. A. Kleiber, '28

G. E. Little

N. L. Poland

F. H. Pumphrey

H. E. White, '96

Gifts

Since our last number of the *Journal* went to press, the Library has received gifts from the following persons:

Dr. and Mrs. J. A. Anderson
Joseph G. Baier, Sr., '96
G. V. N. Baldwin, '86
G. Harold Buttler, Jr., '36
Robert V. A. Buttler
Donald F. Cameron
Robert C. Clothier
Henry E. Cobb, '84
Miss Margaret T. Corwin
Nelson Dunham
Samuel Epstein, '32
James L. Garabrant, '01
John A. Hayes

R. A. Kleiber, '28
M. L. Lowery
Warren A. Mayou, '90
Richard Morris, '99
Edna M. Netter
G. A. Osborn, '97
Dr. and Mrs. John H. Raven
Charles W. Stevens, Jr., '02
L. A. Voorhees, '85
Oscar M. Voorhees, '88
Percival Wilde
Carl R. Woodward, '14
Dr. and Mrs. R. G. Wright



Photographed by Wendell McRae

R. K. O. Pictures Corporation

RICHARD ELLIS AT WESTPORT

RICHARD ELLIS, PRINTER

By EARL SCHENCK MIERS

A year and a half ago, in order to stimulate an interest in good printing, four distinguished bookmen were brought to the University to lecture, and for some days before each one spoke, examples of their work were placed on exhibition in the Library. This winter, as a further stimulant to the cause of fine book-making, the Library plans a display of the books and miscellanea printed by Richard Ellis. In order to explain something of Mr. Ellis' work, Mr. Miers has written the following article for The Journal, and reprints of it will be handed to those who visit the Library to see the exhibition.

SAM JOHNSON, for all his erudition and wit, occasionally experienced a moment when he came off second best. There was that afternoon when Sam encountered Edwards, an old crony from Oxford, in the years when the great doctor's shuffle had begun to drag more slowly across dusty London byways. Like most grown men who know better but still cannot resist the weakness, these two fell to recalling youthful adventures, each wishing the other would keep quiet.

"We are both old men now," Edwards said sadly.

"We are, sir," Dr. Johnson replied, "but do not let us discourage one another."

Edwards glanced down his long, thin nose. He had practiced law, but the money he had made had been spent or given away.

"It is better to live rich than to die rich," Johnson said.

Edwards' face brightened. He looked at Johnson and his rejoinder has made him immortal:

"You are a philosopher, Dr. Johnson. I have tried, too, in my time to be a philosopher; but, I don't know how, cheerfulness was always breaking in."

Richard Ellis never tried to be a philosopher of the sensible, pragmatic type who believes that a man shall toil eight hours a day at a respectable calling and so become an earnest husband, a good father, and, within modest measure, a breadwinner. Through high school and at George Washington University, at the Smithsonian Institution, and the Bureau of Mines he packed his head full of the lore of physical chemistry, grimly

resolved to become a metallurgist, but something more than cheerfulness was breaking in to refute the philosophy which had given a scientific turn to *his* course in life. There was, in addition, that more diverting nuisance bobbing up when least expected—that confounded inner artist who too frequently wore the same pair of shoes and rumpled the same sleepless pillow. There was no escaping this plaguing rascal who haunted Ellis' dreams, who whispered in his ear that he was not the man for set hours or methodical research, and who told him that he had better quit fooling himself while there was still time. Richard Ellis surrendered. He became a printer.

Some typographic humorist has muttered that printing was born five hundred years ago, practically perfect, and, in a sense, that is true, for the pages which Johann Gutenberg pulled from the presses of Mainz in those rare intervals when he wasn't dodging creditors have a fineness of proportion that is instantly appealing. But in every age since Gutenberg there have been printers who worked for love as well as for profit, who have toiled with the creative urge deep in the marrow of their bones, and who have enriched the craft by their effort.

Printing in America has come of age principally since the turn of the present century. Its beginnings were, to be sure, as romantic as the most zealous patriot could wish them. There was B. Franklin of Philadelphia, the lad who arrived in the citadel of brotherly love with a roll under each arm and a quick eye for the charm of his landlady's daughter; and there was Bartholomew Green, the first printer of Boston who for want of better lodging spent one winter sleeping in a barrel. But while certain twentieth-century printers have not become known for their eccentricities, their work, viewed objectively, is good. Bruce Rogers, Daniel Berkeley Updike, and Frederic W. Goudy form one trio who have tickled destiny's bony rib and drawn an indulgent smile. Theodore L. DeVinne and Walter Gillis are firmly anchored in the history of American printing; and there are others whose work gives promise of endurance. The group, however, is select—make no mistake about that. No one is there by accident, for there can be only one means of admission and that is by performance.

Richard Ellis walks in this select group. By modern standards of "production or bust," he is a horse and buggy printer,

and proud of the tag; he will guarantee that his meticulous thoroughness will goad any efficiency expert into a fury of despair within a week, the Sabbath excluded; but it is Richard Ellis' "horse and buggy-ness" which, in a very real sense, has brought to modern bookmaking a freshness of perspective, a new richness of achievement. He works in a corner of one of the busiest printing plants in America, where one would least expect to find him. A lesser spirit might have been consumed by the driving pound of roaring presses, the hammer of boards on packing cases, the perpetual appearance of new delivery schedules. But not Richard Ellis. He is that solid, unwavering kind of rugged individualist who can vote for Roosevelt's third term and still saunter into his office at ten in the morning.

II

The circumstances which led Richard Ellis into printing go back to his boyhood. His father, a lawyer and collector of eighteenth century literature, awakened in the youngster a passion for books and for reading, while his mother, who painted in oils, developed his artistic perceptions—an unerring eye for proportion and color, a sixth sense for knowing when whatever he was creating was "just right." A hand-powered printing press completed the chain of events drawing young Richard toward printing as his life's work. Once he had actually handled type, once the smear of printer's ink was on his hands and face, its smell deep in his nostrils, there was never any real chance of turning back. Typomania is an incurable disease.

Goudy has called type "the voice of today, the herald of tomorrow," and the remark is likely to live as long as any of the distinguished type faces which Goudy has created. Young Richard Ellis, holding a piece of type in his hand, felt immediately this first pulsing thrill which comes to those who work with type—its power so great that, once released five hundred years ago, it altered the course of civilization. But to the student of printing, type becomes something more than a potential weapon. He clutches the metal cube and sees the parade of men who have labored and dreamed and too often died in poverty to make this moment possible—Gutenberg reading the first pages of the Bible which were to astonish the world . . . William Caxton, working under the shadow of Westminster

Abbey, where he produced some eighteen thousand pages, nearly all of folio size . . . Nicholas Jensen, who cut the first Roman letter . . . Aldus Manutius of Venice, who gave the world the *Italic* letter when he published the *Satires of Juvenal and Persius* in 1501. He sees the parade swelling—Plantin, Estienne, Tory and the Elzevirs, Baskerville, Bodoni and William Morris—and his own heartbeat quickens and his eyes grow brighter.

Even during those undergraduate years when Richard Ellis perspired over his physical chemistry and planned to pursue graduate work in metallurgy at M.I.T., he could not make a complete break with printing. His boyhood press never lost its fascination for him, and during summer vacations the influence of understanding friends made it possible for him to work without stipend at the Carnahan Press in Washington, D.C. In 1915, at the age of twenty-one, he decided definitely to become a printer, and since even then he was a fair hand at setting type and handling a press, he was employed by the Carnahan Press (this time with pay), where he began learning the business. Here he had his first experience in the designing and printing of private editions which he secured through family contacts.

There came a moment early in the following year which was easily the most important in Ellis's first months of apprenticeship. Like every good bookmaker on a holiday, he was browsing one afternoon in a book store—Lowdermilk's in Washington—when he chanced to pull from the shelves the Riverside edition of Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*. At once he recognized that here was a book that was distinctly an artistic creation, and turning to the colophon he found the name of Bruce Rogers. In a glance Rogers' work revealed much to the knowing eye—the fine, studied craftsmanship of a traditionalist at heart, the sprightly inventiveness of an alert, exploring mind. Ellis determined to know more of the work of Rogers, this artist-printer who was a prophet to book collectors and printers, and who could be dignified with the mark of genius in spite of Carl Purington Rollins' playful appositive of "America's typographic playboy."

Before the year was out Richard Ellis had acquired many of Bruce Rogers' Riverside Press books. Reading and studying these volumes made him long to own the books of other famous presses, a longing which quickly outstripped his pocketbook.

Gradually, however, his typographic library grew, including emissions from Goudy's Village Press, the Kelmscott Press of William Morris, the Doves Press, books of William Pickering, who was the great reviver of the use of Caslon's types; and, at the same time, he steeped himself in the work of old masters, particularly those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But though he became a thorough student of printing from Gutenberg to those pre-war days of '15 and '16, his principal indebtedness was to Bruce Rogers. Page by page he studied those Riverside editions, then spent hours experimenting with type, page arrangement, paper, binding. Today, a quarter of a century later, he admits eagerly, "B.R.'s work revealed contemporary fine printing in a new vein—whatever inspiration I had for further study I owe to his books."

The World War interrupted Ellis' printing career. As a chemist he was detailed to poison gas research; and he continued with the Chemical Warfare Service, suffering several gassings, and coming back from this duty with a troubling deafness in one ear. In 1919 he returned to printing, though, for a while, he embarked on a short flight in advertising and editorial writing; then came an association with Judd and Detweiler in Washington, another with Norman T. A. Munder in Baltimore, and finally, in 1923, his northward trek brought him to New York where he was typographical advisor to the Ray D. Lillibridge advertising agency. Through these five years his hands may have been busy with other pursuits, but his heart kept turning back to the love of books and to the memory of the afternoon in Lowdermilk's when he first had scanned the Riverside Boccaccio; soon he had turned from advertising to an association with Everett Currier and The DeVinne Press, and then in 1924 he opened offices at 522 Fifth Avenue and his Georgian Press was launched.

Appropriately, the first printing to carry the Georgian Press imprint (1925) was a broadside written by Henry Stevens, expressing Ellis' credo. The boy who had become enthralled by seventeenth and eighteenth century literature almost from the day he had stopped toddling, and the lad who liked to hold type in his hand and smell the good pungent odor from the ink roller could not have found better words to express his maturing passion for the bookmaker's art than those of Stevens:

Good taste, skill and severe training are as requisite and necessary in the proper production of books as in any other of the fine arts. The well recognized "lines of beauty" are as essential and well defined in the one case as in the other. Books are both our luxuries and our daily bread. They have become to our lives and happiness prime necessities. They are our trusted favourites, our guardians, our confidential advisors, and the safe consumers of our leisure. They cheer us in poverty and comfort us in the misery of affluence. They absorb the effervescence of impetuous youth and while away the tedium of age. You may not teach ignorance to a youth who carries a favourite book in his pocket; and to a man who masters his appetites a good book is a talisman which insures him against the dangers of overspeed, idleness and shallowness.

For three years Ellis stuck to his New York office, adding materially to his typographic "laboratory" equipment, producing good work even though he was obliged to entrust his presswork to various plants. One of the memorable books of those days, was his edition of Dickens' *Christmas Carol* (1925) which he printed for George A. Ball of Muncie, Indiana.

Still, difficulties arose. There was the incident of six hundred dollars worth of handsome handmade paper with a deckle on the four sides which he shipped to a distant printer with instructions to save the deckle. The printer was an obliging fellow—carefully he trimmed the deckle off the paper and shipped it back to 522 Fifth Avenue. A wicked gleam still kindles in Richard Ellis' eyes as he tells the story.

More than the shortcomings of other craftsmen disturbed the proprietor of the Georgian Press in those early years. Merely to plan books was not enough, and one day near his home in Westport, Connecticut, he saw a barn, large and venerable, and a long cherished dream took hold of him. Mentally he began transforming that barn, seeing the ideal printing-house emerge. He drew a deep breath and plunged. Six golden years followed.

III

The man who wanted to oversee all the steps in fine book-making had the same urge in the remodelling of the old barn in Westport. Ellis was his own architect, and stood over the workmen. Even as the hammers pounded and the saws buzzed he was turning over in his mind the announcement he would compose to explain this great dream: "The Georgian Press is



BAS-RELIEF FROM THE ENTABLATURE IN THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

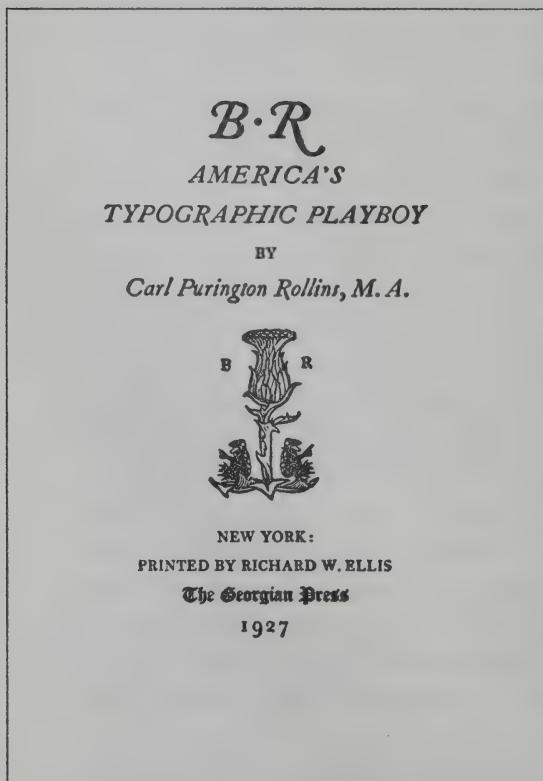
GOOD TASTE, SKILL AND SEVERE TRAINING ARE AS REQUISITE AND NECESSARY in the proper production of books as in any other of the fine arts. The well recognized "lines of beauty" are as essential and well defined in the one case as in the other. Books are both our luxuries and our daily bread. They have become to our lives and happiness prime necessities. They are our trusted favourites, our guardians, our confidential advisers, and the safe consumers of our leisure. They cheer us in poverty and comfort us in the misery of affluence. They absorb the effervescence of impetuous youth, and while away the tedium of age. You may not teach ignorance to a youth who carries a favourite book in his pocket; and to a man who masters his appetites a good book is a talisman which insures him against the dangers of overspeed, idleness and shallowness.

[A broadside written by Henry Stevens and arranged in type by RICHARD W. ELLIS, at the Georgian Press, in the City of New York. Two hundred and twenty copies have been printed by this Private Press, in the month of October, MCMXXV]

Facsimile, slightly reduced, of the first Georgian Press item. In the original, the initial and last four lines were in red. The type used was Goudy Antique.

now established in a home congenial to the type of work which it aims to do; in a quiet New England setting, conducive to leisurely, careful craftsmanship." A visitor to the Press entered the Colonial doorway to glimpse, through an arched opening from the entry, the type cabinets, presses, and other equipment of the work shop. Sun streamed into the building through a continuous line of large casement windows, partially shaded by the shrubbery surrounding. The stairs to the left led to the library and the study where on the wood walls were specimens of fine printing from Wynkyn de Worde to William Morris; at one end there was a large open fireplace, at the other a balcony overlooking the presses.

In this printer's paradise Richard Ellis worked on his own schedule which was virtually all the time. An idea would seize him on the way to bed; softly, he would creep down the stairs and off to the barn; and, usually a bit sheepish, he would not reappear until breakfast.



The text is composed in Monotype Scotch Roman, and printed from type on an English hand-made paper. Decoration on title page in green.

At Westport, Richard Ellis printed some fifty books; a few carried his own imprint of "Richard W. Ellis: The Georgian Press" as publisher, but the majority were produced for publishers and private collectors. Mitchell Kennerley and Colonel Ralph H. Isham were his loyal friends and patrons; Random House, Rimington & Hooper, and Doubleday, Doran brought him their choice books; all eighteen of the Cheshire House limited editions sponsored by Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. were printed here; Thomas B. Lockwood of Buffalo was another staunch supporter. Over the format, the typographic plan, and its execution Richard Ellis demanded complete jurisdiction; now and then he agreed to submit proofs, even more rarely to send trial pages. If the need arose, he became editor as well as printer, arranging for introductions, forewords and annotations, or writing them himself. This was a high-handed business, but it was justified by one fact: his work was such that collectors still vie for the books which came out of Westport during those golden years.

IS BERNARD SHAW
a Dramatist? ♀ ♀

*A Scientific, but imaginary Symposium
in the neo-Socratic Manner: Conducted
by Bernard Shaw's Biographer*

Archibald Henderson

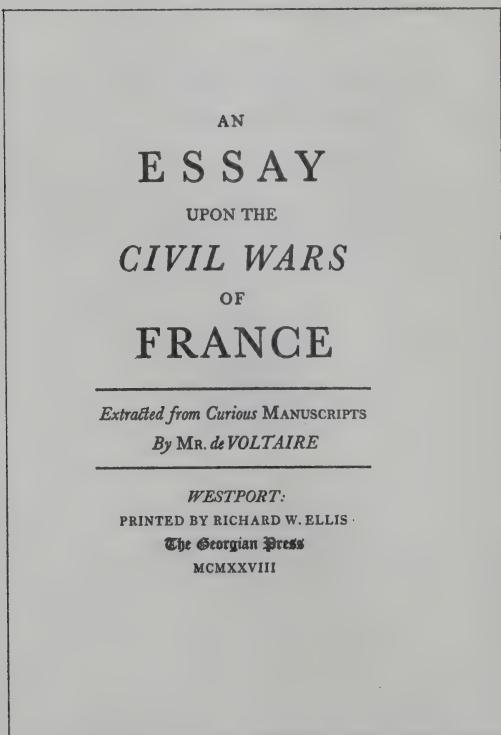


New York & London
MITCHELL KENNERLEY

1929

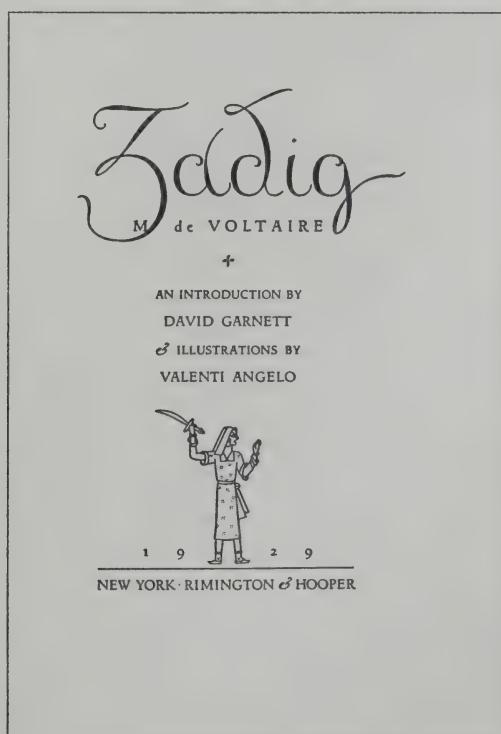
The text is composed by hand in Goudy Kennerley and Old Style italic. Printed from type on an English hand-made paper. Decorations on title page in old red.

The best known of his books at Westport is, of course, the Cheshire House edition of *The Inferno of Dante Alighieri*, with the seven William Blake engravings here used for the first time. A folio volume, 13 x 26 inches, published in a limited edition at sixty dollars, the pages were composed by hand in 22-point Caslon and 22-point Bell italic. Another Westport triumph was *The Travells of Capt. John Smith*, a small folio volume set by hand in Original Old Style italic and Monotype Garamont and printed in a limited edition of 377 copies for Rimington & Hooper, publishers. There was also an edition of *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, set in Original Old Style and Garamond, full bound in red morocco. There was the Rollins's piece on Bruce Rogers published by Ellis, a happy association of three master craftsmen on the one title-page; also, reflecting Ellis' interests in eighteenth century literature, were his reprinting of the very rare essay in English by Voltaire, *The History of the Civil Wars of France*, and the entrancing pot-boiler of Oliver Goldsmith's early years, *The Story of the Cock-Lane Ghost*.



The text is composed by hand in English Baskerville and Old Style italic. Printed from type on an English hand-made paper.

Bookmen, publishers, authors came to rely on Ellis, to nod when he said a book should be thus and so, an introduction revamped or discarded, and happy results flowed from this confidence. Bernard Shaw recognized Ellis as a kindred spirit when the latter was printing some articles by Shaw on Karl Marx and the Jevonian Value Theory. In Shaw's correspondence with Ellis, the author referred to his studies under Philip H. Wicksteed, the well-known economist: "It was this course of study that enabled me to write the criticism of Marx's theory in the *National Reformer* and to trace the steps by which he was led into his error when one more step would have enabled him to anticipate Jevons. As Wicksteed's article, my reply, and his rejoinder are in the public domain like the *National Reformer* articles, I should, in your place, add them to your volume with a brief preface by yourself setting forth the facts from this letter." Shaw was never a man to entrust work to another if he feared his case might suffer from bungling; it was common knowledge in the trade, then and now,



that Ellis never bungled. Mitchell Kennerley has said of Ellis: "Every piece he does, whether letterhead or folio volume, shows a knowledge of the fundamentals of literature and of types that expresses itself in a result that is both delightful and authentic. He has the surest touch of any book printer in America today."

Books poured out of Westport and booklovers poured in. Here Ellis and his wife worked in a partnership that was one of the greatest strengths of the Westport adventure. Mrs. Ellis contributed many ideas in the planning of books, learned to set type and became an old hand at "justifying the line," while, with equal competence, she would quit the composing room to act as hostess at an informal gathering or at one of the periodic literary teas for which the Georgian Press became known. Any day was open house for fellow printers, collectors, publishers and authors in the barn which for a century had housed

THE INFERNNO

Canto i. Argument

The writer, having lost his way in a gloomy forest, and being hindered by certain wild beasts from ascending a mountain, is met by Virgil, who promises to show him the punishments of Hell, and afterwards of Purgatory; and that he shall then be conducted by Beatrice into Paradise. He follows the Roman poet.

 *N* the midway of this our mortal life,
I found me in a gloomy wood, astray
Gone from my path direst: and e'en to tell,
It were no easy task, how savage wild
That forest, how robust and rough its growth,
Which to remember only, my dismay
Renews, in bitterness not far from death.
Yet, to discourse of what there good befall,
All else will I relate discover'd there.
How first I enter'd it I scarce can say,
Such sleepy dullness in that instant weigh'd
My sense down, when the true path I left;
But when a mountain's foot I reach'd, where closed
The valley that had pierced my heart with dread,
I look'd aloft, and saw his shoulders broad
Already vested with that planet's beam,

[Who

The Inferno of Dante Alighieri. Opening page of text, greatly reduced, but showing the type arrangement. Text composed by hand in Caslon Old Style and Bell Italic. Initial in red. Printed from type on imported mould-made paper for Cheshire House.

livestock and now had become one of the shrines of graphic arts in America. And there was no tedious repetition to the pattern of those days. In the early thirties RKO arranged to produce a screen version of Philip Barry's "The Animal Kingdom," and since part of the action centered in a printing-office, there was need to find a perfect model for the stage settings. The quest ended at the Georgian Press in Westport. Here, director Edward H. Griffith had Cameraman Wendell McRae shoot scenes of every room in the remodelled barn, while Richard Ellis tutored Leslie Howard in how a gentleman printer should handle type and tweezers. If you remember this motion picture you will recall that there was a scene when Leslie Howard straightened up from the proof press and there was a close-up of a title-page which, supposedly, he had composed. You have one guess as to who actually set that page.

Life at the Georgian Press was never dull. Another diverting moment was Ellis' first airplane flight with Christopher Morley to attend the dedication of the Lockwood Memorial Library at the University of Buffalo, an experience which Morley has made the subject of an essay in his book, *Streamlines*. "It had been my hope," Morley has written, "that four gentlemen, all bound for the opening of the Lockwood Library, might have travelled together by plane; they were respectively a publisher, a printer, a bookseller and a writer. For, had there been a crash, it would have been so perfect an opportunity for the obituaries to isolate a pure culture of the *bacterium bibliophile*." Among R. E.'s treasures is a short poem which Morley pencilled on a scrap of paper while two miles up as a memento of their journey:

The printer of the Georgian Press,
Above celestial wastes of cloud,
Like most of us could not express
This miracle by man endowed;
But only said, with beaming face
"Hereafter I will use more space—
And set my takes in upper case!"

The Chinese have an ancient saying that in books, as in life, an excess of sugar does not promote longevity. Those who visited the idyllic printing-office at Westport sometimes came away with the uneasy feeling that Ellis' house of books was too

perfect to endure forever. The depression grew steadily worse during those early thirties; the overhead of running the Georgian Press began to exhaust available funds; and finally there came that grim afternoon in 1933 when Richard Ellis locked the door of the remodelled barn and the Westport adventure which had been a brilliant, if too short chapter in the annals of American book-making was sadly concluded. Discouragement was a troublesome companion dogging Ellis's footsteps for a long time after that; more than years of apprenticeship, more than hour upon hour of patient, devoted toil had gone into those Westport days; into them also had gone the blind, boundless faith of creative enthusiasm. In the days, the weeks, the months which followed Richard Ellis thought often of Thoreau's remark: "Most men lead lives of quiet desperation." Everywhere he turned and looked the golden years of Westport still were so near, and yet so miserably far away.

IV

After Westport, factory-crowded Camden, New Jersey, certainly seemed a sad contrast when Ellis arrived there in 1935. Its traffic-congested streets, its rows of dingy houses each built after the same plan, like so many cans of beans rolling out of the nearby Campbell factory, were not sights to stir a man's heart, and yet he remembered that there was romance haunting the byways of this ancient city. It had been to Camden that Walt Whitman had come by ferry from Philadelphia; there in the 70's and 80's Walt had pushed up the hill from the river, determination in every stride and a thirst for beer in his throat, and it was in Camden that tart old Walt had hounded the little job-printers with scraps of copy, glowering over their shoulders as they worked at the type-cases and howling constantly for his "slips." Camden to the literary man can never be a workaday conglomeration of factories, traffic and dirty houses; Camden is one of Walt's shrines, best preserved in his own vigorous lines:

I dream'd in a dream I saw a city invincible to the attacks of the whole
rest of the earth,
I dream'd that was the new city of Friends,
Nothing was greater there than the quality of robust love, it led the rest,
It was seen every hour in the actions of the men of that city.
And in all their looks and words.

Just where Ellis, the horse and buggy printer, was to fit into the sprawling, modern, business-like plant of the Haddon Craftsmen here in Camden seemed a difficult conjecture. Yet here amid the roar of mighty presses, the daily pressure of production, of teletype messages from the New York office, and of the inescapable audition system which can call a man to the telephone from any corner of the plant, he set up a studio workshop and library where he could do the important work of a modern pioneer in bookmaking.

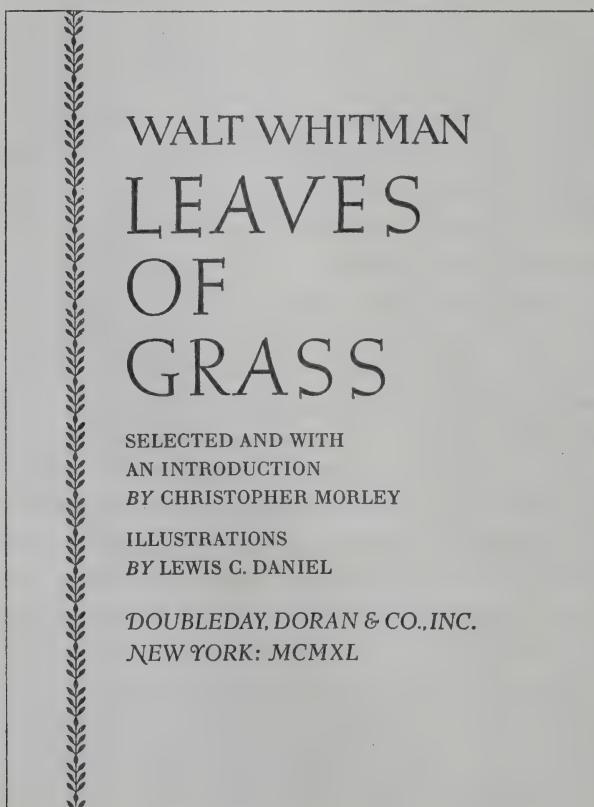
For the Ellis of Camden is the Ellis of Westport, with one revolutionary distinction. He is still the rugged individualist (if not an ideal pragmatist, then certainly a pragmatic idealist) who works when he pleases and as long as he pleases, who ignores the frantic teletypes and demands the time for thorough workmanship, who must supervise every line of proof and inspect every sheet from the press in spite of schedules and worried publishers, who must be given complete jurisdiction over every detail of a job, editorial and otherwise, if he is to touch it at all. He is still—yes, and he will always be—the young man in Lowdermilk's book store seeing the far horizons of printing. The revolutionary distinction is this: at Westport Ellis printed limited editions at sixty dollars a copy; at Camden the same unerring, painstaking craftsmanship is going into editions of two hundred thousand or two hundred and fifty thousand copies at five dollars a copy.

In America today there is no more promising movement in printing. Because of it the trade book of the future will be a finer book; and the artist-printer, who was once more or less the exclusive property of the bibliophile with a fat bank roll, is becoming the willing servant of the whole fraternity of people who love books and who want to grace their library shelves with volumes which are an exciting adventure from the moment the hand touches them. Surely at Camden the credo of the early days of the Georgian Press is finding its richest fulfillment, and when this movement in the graphic arts reaches its full promise, the initials R. E. will belong in the tradition of American printing as certainly as those of B. R. or F. W. G. The origins of the movement may be open to some dispute—being, in a sense, the sum total of the effort of each craftsman working for the advancement of book-

making in America—still no informed student of the graphic arts can deny that in this year 1941 Richard Ellis is its principal exponent.

Two of the volumes which Richard Ellis has supervised recently from his studio workshop in the plant at The Haddon Craftsmen will illustrate how the craft of the horse and buggy printer functions amid the boom-boom of modern production.

I. *Leaves of Grass* by Walt Whitman, a Book-of-the-Month Club dividend book published by Doubleday, Doran at five dollars. This superb volume, on which Ellis worked for many months, is quarto size and composed in 12-point Monotype Bodoni with specially cut long descenders. Paper for the book was specially made and the entire edition was printed on high-speed perfecting presses. Arrangements were made for an introduction by Christopher Morley and the illustrations, in full color by Lewis C. Daniel, were reproduced by lithography.



The text is composed in Monotype Bodoni with long descenders. Printed from electrotypes on a machine-made paper. Decoration on title page in green.

II. *Translations from the Chinese* by Arthur Waley, also a Book-of-the-Month Club dividend book published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., at five dollars. Two years of careful labor and research were consumed in planning and printing this magnificent edition. Once again, the paper was specially made under Ellis' supervision, this time to simulate old Chinese paper; the type is a special cutting of Goudy's Monotype Deepdene in a 16-point size with revisions and swash characters drawn by R. E. with Goudy's approval (and with the understanding that the revised face will be reserved for Ellis' exclusive use). The volume is illustrated in color by Cyrus LeRoy Baldridge, who also collaborated with Ellis on the beautiful trade edition of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*.

Limited editions produced by him at Haddon continue to reflect the flawless skill of the old Westport days. For Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach he has in process in four folio volumes,

The Herd-Boy

By Lu Yu

In the southern village the boy who minds the ox
With his naked feet stands on the ox's back.
Through the hole in his coat the river wind blows;
Through his broken hat the mountain rain pours.
On the long dyke he seemed to be far away;
In the narrow lane suddenly we were face to face.

The boy is home and the ox is back in its stall;
And a dark smoke oozes through the thatched roof.



A text page from Translations from the Chinese, composed in RE's special Monotype cutting of Goudy Deepdene. Printed from electrotypes on a machine-made paper. The illustrations appearing with the text were printed in grey.

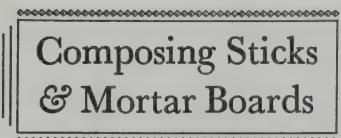
Tobacco, Its History Illustrated by the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings in the Library of George Arents, Jr., by Jerome E. Brooks in an edition of three hundred copies (list price, two hundred and sixty-five dollars a set); for the Free Library of Philadelphia he has done a sensitively executed catalogue, in large quarto, of the *John Frederick Lewis Collection of Medieval Manuscripts*; and for William K. Vanderbilt, the handsomely printed, profusely illustrated *Flying Lanes*, an account of Mr. Vanderbilt's flight around South America and over the Andes.

Old Walt would have burst with pride if he could have seen the edition of *Walt Whitman in Camden* (with an introduction by Christopher Morley) which Ellis edited and designed, and which The Haddon Craftsmen published for private distribution in 1938. Every detail of this volume reflects Ellis' mature skill as a printer—the cloth imported from Czechoslovakia for the binding, the deckle-edged, green tinted paper made in England, the beautifully composed pages in 12-point English Monotype Bell, the superb photographs by Arnold Genthe, the impeccable presswork. At the sight of the volume Walt would have grasped his hand and led him onto one of those gentlemanly debaucheries for which the old poet was so famous, doubtless with the result that the pair would have greeted the dawn somewhere around Germantown, both happier than a couple of larks.

Among the books which Ellis has planned, arranged in type, and supervised, and which Haddon Craftsmen have published for private distribution, are, in addition to *Walt Whitman in Camden*, *House-Warming and Winter Visitors* by Henry David Thoreau (composed in Monotype Bell and bound in marble paper over boards), *Three Essays* by Ralph Waldo Emerson (with an appreciation by Van Wyck Brooks and a frontispiece and decorations by Vernon Sisson), *The Affair at The Inn* by Charles J. Finger (composed in a trial cutting of Monotype Janson, and illustrated by Cyrus LeRoy Baldridge), *The Man Without a Country* by Edward Everett Hale ("A wonderful revival of a wonderful story," President Roosevelt wrote to Ellis), and the present writer's own *Composing Sticks and Mortar Boards*, a discussion of university press printing.

As Goudy said of designing type-faces, "I just think of a letter and draw around it," so Richard Ellis plans a book—

by thinking and building around it. His basic principle in book design is unanswerable: "I see no reason why the simple well printed type page should not have greater attraction for the reader than bizarre effects." And he will gamble a prediction: "Thinner books are coming—they need only the enthusiastic support of one leading publisher to have almost everyone else fall in line." He will tell you that though the first consideration in fine bookmaking is for craftsmanship in work—or, in short, for the paying of attention to little niceties—a practical printer must have the ability to work constructively and efficiently with the tools of modern book manufacturing, securing the desired result by careful preliminary preparation and constant supervision. A favorite axiom of Ellis' is: "Trifles make perfection, but perfection is no trifle." Again, he sees printing as a vocation of continual challenge: "The planning of books and any printed matter, whether a sumptuous volume or a postal card announcement, can call forth the full creative effort and



Composing Sticks
& Mortar Boards

*By Earl Schenck Miers, Manager of the
Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick,
with an Introduction by P. J. Conkwright
of Princeton University Press, Princeton.*

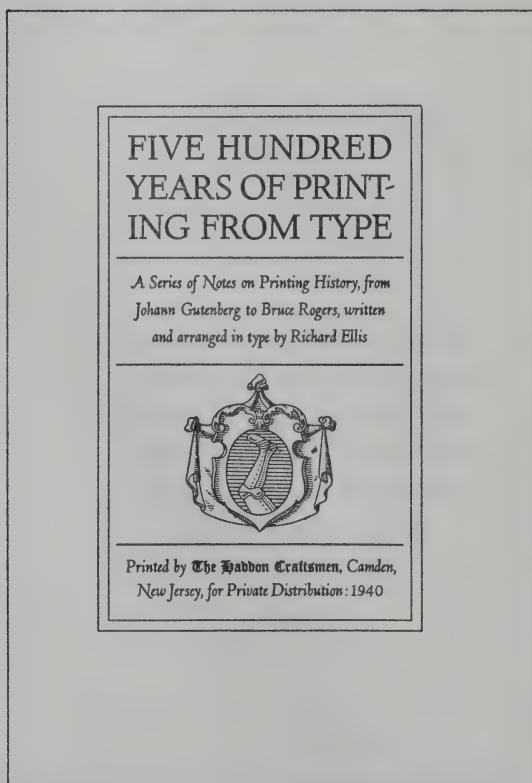
*Printed by The Haddon Craftsmen
for Rutgers University Press,
New Brunswick, N. J.*

1941

*The text is composed in English
Monotype Baskerville. Printed
from type on a machine-made
paper. Decorated rules and date
on title page in terra-cotta red.*

interest of the designer-printer, and give him happiness and success in his work."

The past six years at Camden have been happy, productive years for the horse and buggy printer, who is steadfast to his age by refusing to own an automobile (he travels by bus from his home in Moorestown, where his wife and three children have grown accustomed to his erratic hours). He works diligently over what old Walt called his "slips," and invariably he is swamped with detail. Now and then he turns his hand to literary production—there is his "Primer of Type" series, two numbers of which have appeared; his *Five Hundred Years of Printing from Type*, aptly dedicated "to those craftsmen of today and to those of tomorrow who will carry on the traditions of the noble art of printing"; and his sketches of famous booksellers on which he is now engaged. In addition to his studio workshop at Camden he has a study at home where he does a considerable part of his work, and so manages to keep



*Text pages composed in various
types characteristic of the printers
discussed. Printed from type on
rag paper. Rules and device on
title page in terra-cotta red.*

his days and nights as busily occupied as during the years at Westport. As a member of the American Institute of Graphic Arts, the Art Alliance, the Typophiles (New York) and the Philadelphia Graphic Arts Forum, he is frequently on the hop, speaking, exhibiting his work, or discussing books. But his greatest fun is going back into the shop with the "boys," his eyes twinkling when they call his attention to a good piece of work, knowing that they have learned to share his enthusiasm for thorough craftsmanship so that even the trade books they produce without his direct supervision have a "touch" which can be traced to his influence. They call him a hard task-master, but they know that even though one shift may go off duty and another report, he will remain in the plant as long as the work needs him. At forty-seven Richard Ellis is in his prime with many of his best years ahead; it is a rich promise. He is the second "Poor Richard" from down Philadelphia way.

Three Essays

by Ralph Waldo Emerson

with *An Appreciation* by

Van Wyck Brooks



Camden: The Haddon Craftsmen

McMXXXIX

The text is composed in the special Monotype cutting of Goudy Deepdene. Printed from type on rag paper. Monogram on title page in grey-blue.

NOTES FROM THE LIBRARY

JOHN WOOLMAN ON WAR

Among the Woolman manuscripts in the Rutgers University Library are three short pieces which are uniform with the second and perhaps most important manuscript of the *Journal of John Woolman*. Like it they are carefully written on note paper, six by eight inches in size, with the sheets sewn together. The first, which transcribes a passage from the *Journal* with many slight variations in text, describes a religious journey to the Western Shore of Maryland in April, 1767. It is interesting chiefly because it constitutes a third manuscript of this passage and re-emphasizes Woolman's care in preparing the record of his religious life and labors.¹

The second is not by Woolman, although it is in his hand and is likewise uniform with the second manuscript of the *Journal*. It describes the efforts of John Churchman to dissuade the Pennsylvania Assembly from voting for a military program in April, 1748, when the Governor called them together and "laid before them the defenseless State of Pennsylvania, in order to prevail with the house to give a Sum of money to Station a Ship of force at our capes as also to Encourage the Building a Battery below the City." Woolman so much sympathized with Churchman's effort that he asked him for his record of the event, copied it in full, and then

transcribed it in the third and last manuscript of his own *Journal*, with the words, "If this *Journal* be printed, let all the Quot^o from J. Churchman's notes be left out." His editors followed his directions.²

The third is a short account of a dream, apparently by Woolman but not contained in any of the manuscript or printed versions of the *Journal*. It would serve as an allegorical interpretation of Churchman's experience and is a dramatic record of the Quaker testimony against war. As other dreams were omitted from the early printed texts of the *Journal*, it may have been originally intended as a part of that work. The text is here reproduced in full:

Da. 26 Mo. 7 1764 at night I dreamed I was abroad on a Religious Visit, beyound the Sea, and had been out upward of two months, and that while I was out on the Visit, the people of the Country where I was, & those of a Neighbouring Kingdom, having concerns together in affairs abroad had difference, which arose so high that they began to fight, and both parties were preparing for a General war. I thought there was no Sea between them, but only bounded by a line, and that the man who was Chief amongst the other people, lived within a Days Journey of where I was. I being troubled at these things felt a desire in my mind to go & Speak with this Chief man, and try to prevail on him to Stop Fighting,

¹ Ms. #2: (Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College) pp. 311-319.

² Ms. #3: (Historical Society of Pennsylvania) pp. 70-76. See also, A. M. Gummere's *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*. N. Y. 1922. p. 206 n. The passage was printed in John Churchman's *Gospel Labours*. Phila. 1779.

that they might enquire more fully into the grounds of their disagrem^t and endeavour to accomodate their difference without sheding more Blood. So I set of, having one man with me as a pilot, and after traveling some time in the woods, we came in sight of a few of those people at Labour, having Guns with them; I being foremost came near them before they saw us, and as soon as they discovered that we were from their Enemies Country, they took up their Guns, and were preparing to fire on us; where upon I hastily approached them, holding up both my Arms, to let them see that I had no warlike weapons, So I Shook hands with them, & let them know the cause of our coming, at which they appeard well pleased. In the surprize at our meeting, my Pilot held forth a small Gun he had with him, which I knew not of before, but they so soon understood our Business that none fired; After which I saw my Pilot no more; But one of these people offering to Conduct me to their Chief Man, He and I set forward & Traveled along a path through Woods, & Swamps near South-East, and on our way, my new Pilot, who could talk broken English, spake to me with an agreeable countenance, & desired that when I came before their Chief, I would speak my mind freely, & signified their Salutation at meeting was to Speak to each other but not to Shake hands. At length we came to the House of this Chief man, whom I thought had the Command of the Soldiers, and was at the head of the Affairs of their Country, but was not called a King. His House Stood by it self, & a good Garden with green herbs before the Door. In which Garden I stood, while my Pilot went to tell this Chief man that I wanted to speak with him. As I stood alone in the Garden, my mind was Exercised on the affair I

came upon, and presently my Pilot returned, and passing by me said he had forgot to tell me that I had an invitation to Diner. Soon after him came the Chief man, who having been told the cause of my coming looked on me with a Friendly Countenance, and as I was about to enter on the business I awoke

John Woolman

ROBERT E. SPILLER

Swarthmore College

A WOOLMAN DOCUMENT

Among some papers by and pertaining to John Woolman, the eighteenth-century Quaker leader and diarist, the Rutgers Library owns a deed recording Woolman's purchase of land from Jacob Powell for the sum of £12 on August 9, 1762. This transfer of land is reaffirmed by Jacob's widow, Mary Powell, on April 30, 1764, on the same piece of parchment.

The location of this property is uncertain. Mr. Nathaniel R. Ewan, past President of the Burlington County Historical Society, writes, "Some authorities claim that the Cripps original plantation was between Mt. Holly and Lumberton, but do not offer any documentary proof, and I doubt very much if anyone can definitely place his settlement, except within a rather extended area around the present site of Mt. Holly, where the old name of Cripps Mount was the traditional designation." Mr. George De Cou adds, "Nathaniel Cripps had a daughter named Virgin who married one John Powell, and they had grandchildren named Jacob, Christopher, John, and Joseph Powell. I do not know, however, where these men lived. The following record of

survey, from Basse's *Book of Surveys*, p. 147, is suggestive: 'Feb. 1708-09, for Nathaniel Cripps and Thomas Bryant of 500 acres at an Indian town called Coexon upon a small branch of Ancocas Creek.' The Indian village of Coexon, spelled in various ways, was located about a mile or mile and a half west of Vincentown, so this farm must have been in that neighborhood. In Nathaniel Cripps' will, dated October 9, 1746, he mentions 'The brick house near Bridgetown [Mt. Holly] and sixty acres of land.'

Vincentown is south of Mt. Holly, and therefore located in the opposite direction with respect to the town from John Woolman's ancestral home, so that there is no possibility that he bought this tract to extend family holdings. The farm which he bought in 1747 is not in that immediate neighborhood either. The neighborhood one and a half miles west of Vincentown, toward the Lumberton road, is flat territory, with relatively rich soil for this region, and there is considerable acreage through which a tiny stream flows. It is now in fields, and an orchard is near, but the presence of groves of trees would suggest that it might have been wooded when Woolman bought it.

The chief interest of this deed and the others in the Rutgers Library collection, which contain Woolman's signature in capacities other than those of seller or purchaser of land, is the evidence which they give of the great amount of legal work done by him in drawing up and signing wills, deeds, and conveyances, rather than for any important biographical facts. Mrs. Gummere points out that, whether he wished

it or not, the sidelines which grew out of his tailoring business became profitable, even though he was scrupulous about taking money for legal chores. (Gummere, A. M.: *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*. New York: 1922, p. 47.) He must have been something of a real estate broker, for Mrs. Gummere says, "Deeds exist in which he bought and sold lands within forty-eight hours, evidently to settle estates." (Ibid., p. 50.) This was not the case with the Powell land transfer, however, for Woolman's title to it is reaffirmed by the widow. It is not a large plot of land compared to the acreage of some contemporary purchases, being only "one acre and 12 square rods of land"; but the sum £12 is a good price per acre, and Woolman's reasons for its purchase are a matter of speculation. As there seem to be no other reasons, one might fairly suppose that he did it to help some needy friend, or otherwise for the benefit of someone other than himself.

MARY ELLIS DARLINGTON

RUTGERS PUBLICATIONS

Colonel James Neilson, A Business Man in the Early Machine Age in New Jersey 1784-1862,
by Robert T. Thompson.

DR. THOMPSON'S scholarly life of Colonel Neilson is an important study of a New Brunswick citizen whose career epitomized in many ways the transition period which ushered in the machine age in New Jersey.

Colonel Neilson (1784-1862) was the son of Colonel John Neilson of Revolutionary War fame, and the father of the late James Neilson

whose death in 1937 robbed the university of one of its most loyal and devoted friends. Professor Thompson's study is based largely on the remarkable collection of Neilson manuscripts which Mr. Neilson presented to the Rutgers University Library before his death.

From this collection of source materials, the author has drawn a well-rounded and convincing portrait of a business man who seems to have been actively interested in almost all of the new industries which were springing up in the early part of the nineteenth century. Colonel Neilson conducted a successful shipping business between New Brunswick and New York; helped in the formation of the New Jersey turnpike and railroad companies; and was one of the key individuals in the development of the Delaware and Raritan Canal which ran between New Brunswick and Trenton. In addition, he took part in many speculative adventures in real estate in various parts of the country, and also helped to promote many manufacturing industries in New Brunswick. In this latter connection, the author's account of the change from water power to steam provides an interesting footnote to the history of the worldwide industrial revolution.

Perhaps the most interesting of Colonel Neilson's far-flung business ventures was his share in the development of the Delaware and Raritan Canal. The difficulties involved in organizing and promoting this enterprise would have discouraged any less resolute individual, but because of Colonel Neilson's unflagging faith in the future of the canal, the onerous task of construction was finally carried to a successful conclusion

with the opening of the waterway in 1834. It was largely through Neilson's unremitting efforts that the necessary capital was raised, and the charters secured from the reluctant legislatures of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Not the least rewarding activity in Neilson's many-sided career was his lifetime of experience as a gentleman farmer. The beautiful estate centering about "Wood Lawn" was the scene of continuing experiments in new methods of agriculture and it seems certain that Neilson took particular pleasure in this phase of his existence.

Toward Rutgers College, Colonel Neilson displayed a friendly and sympathetic interest at all times. He served as Trustee from 1833 until his death in 1862, and during this period made numerous gifts to the struggling college in the form of lands and scholarship funds.

Dr. Thompson's announced purpose in writing this volume was to present Colonel Neilson as a typical "business man of the early machine age in New Jersey." In this he has succeeded admirably and the resultant study is a genuine contribution to American social history.

ROGER H. McDONOUGH

Composing Sticks and Mortar Boards, by Earl Schenc Miers, with an Introduction by P. J. Conkwright.

THIS curious volume is a skillful and light hearted book on universities and their presses. It answers the unasked question as to why so much university printing should be so commonplace. Like a good primer for those in charge of such matters,

it also gives the practical advice we so seldom get from the pert askers of embarrassing questions. The volume is, as it should be, a model of good taste and restraint in design which is no more than we have come to expect from Richard Ellis who designed it.

To read Mr. Miers' account of printing a college catalogue, you would think such a routine job was an adventure in craftsmanship. He merely assumes that universities, the home and source of learning, ought to be the home and source of sound printing. This easy assumption carries with it another which is apparent on every page. It is that all university printers see beyond the dull editorial duties and compromises that have to be made daily with a narrow budget to the work itself in finished form which represents the dignity and prestige of the institution from which it comes. All you need is enthusiasm, patience, tact, taste, some knowledge, devotion to the institution, and a ten percent increase in the printing budget.

DONALD F. CAMERON

That Rascal Freneau, A Study in Literary Failure by Lewis Leary.

BORN in New York, Philip Freneau was brought to New Jersey when a small child, and there he lived most of the time for the remainder of his eighty years. It is appropriate that for years past the Rutgers Library should have been collecting books and manuscripts of this Jerseyman and that a distinguished biography, which draws such a substantial body of its material from that library, should be published by the Rutgers University Press.

In the course of hunting out the facts that have gone into this book, Dr. Lewis Leary has from time to time prepared short studies, two of which have been printed in the *Journal*. It is therefore with especial feeling of one who has watched a child grow from its early years that we greet this excellent volume, in which we have the additional pleasure of reading about familiar places as they were in the days of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For Freneau lived the greater part of his life at Mount Pleasant, near present-day Matawan.

During his life Freneau was a whole-hearted partisan. He gave his soul to the cause of freedom in the time of the Revolutionary War, and suffered in a British prisonship for his ardor. After that he became the editor of the Philadelphia *Freemen's Journal*. In this capacity he continued to fight the British until the treaty of peace was finally concluded. Later he went to sea as a captain, and almost lost his life in a storm from the ravages of which only eight out of one hundred and fifty ships in the harbor of Kingston, Jamaica, survived. During the six years of his life at sea he constantly contributed poems to the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, New Brunswick, and Charleston.

Dr. Leary is the first person who has ever brought together all the facts of Freneau's life so that one can see his career as a whole. In doing so, he has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the part played in our national life by the man who earned the title, "The Poet of the Revolution."

R. K.

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